

The Mu'tazilites meticulously elaborated these five assertions and their ramifications with reference to a great many Qur'anic verses and Prophetic hadiths within the framework of rational argument.<sup>38</sup> Their primary focus was on God's unity and justice (principles I and II), since these were considered fundamental; it is for this reason that the Mu'tazilites are sometimes referred to as *ahl al-'adl wa-l-tawhīd* (proponents of justice and absolute unity).

### 1.8. The Doctrine of the Createdness of the Qur'an

The debate over whether the Qur'an is an object created by an act of God or God's uncreated speech antedates al-Ma'mūn by perhaps more than a century (Madelung 1974).<sup>39</sup> Evidence reported by Watt (1950), Abusaq (1971) and Vajda (*EI2*, s.v. Ibn Dirham), among others, suggests that the tenth Umayyad caliph, Hishām (r. 105–125/724–743), ordered that Ja'd ibn Dirham be put to death in 124/742 or 125/743 for advocating the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an. According to Amīn (1933–36, 3:162) and Sourdel (1962, 32), Hārūn al-Rashīd's threat to behead the noted *mutakallim* (speculative theologian) Bishr ibn Ghiyāth al-Marīsī for teaching that the Qur'an was created drove him into hiding for twenty years, although this story is probably apocryphal.<sup>40</sup>

Proponents of the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an argued that the Qur'an, although divine, cannot be deemed uncreated, an idea associated with the traditionists. According to the Mu'tazilites, one of the primary groups associated with this doctrine, such a claim would violate God's absolute unity (*aṣl al-tawhīd*) and thus constitute polytheism. Their argument is straightforward: we know that God is one and eternal. To claim that the Qur'an is also eternal would imply that God's eternity is shared by an object, the Qur'an, and that God is therefore no longer a Unity. The Mu'tazilites employed the same argument to refute the Christian concept of the Trinity as similarly violating the Oneness of God. Furthermore, they labeled Muslims who claimed that the Qur'an is God's uncreated speech as *mushrikūn* (polytheists), likening them to Christians who claimed that "Jesus was not created because he is the word of God" (Madelung 1974, 517).

### 1.9. The *Mihna*

*Mihne (131339)*

Al-Ma'mūn's command in 218/833 to institute the *mihna* had the express aim of securing acquiescence in the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an. The word *mihna* has

several connotations.<sup>41</sup> The most relevant is that which comes closest to the "Inquisition" of the European Middle Ages, although certainly not in terms of its scope and excesses. However, it should be noted that the caliph himself only used the verb *imtahana* ("to interrogate" or "to examine"). It was later Arab chroniclers who introduced the word *mihna* to describe the caliph's order. Over time, after the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an had become almost universally rejected, the term acquired emotional connotations, suggesting that this episode was an ordeal which confronted the entire Muslim Community.

The caliph wrote a series of five letters giving his instructions for the *mihna*. The full-text of these appears in al-Ṭabarī's (d. 310/923) universal history in his discussion of the reign of al-Ma'mūn. The first letter, which gives the initial order for the *mihna*, was written in Rabi' I 218/March-April 833; the others, undated, followed in rapid succession. All five letters are addressed to Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, who was the governor of Baghdad and also chief of police. Many of those whom al-Ma'mūn wanted interrogated are mentioned by name. They include Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), eponym of one of the four classical schools of legal thought (*madhhabs*). The questioning was carried out by Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, occasionally in the presence of others. He was instructed to keep the caliph informed of the course of the interrogations, apparently by means of verbatim transcripts sent to the caliph, but these have not survived. Al-Ma'mūn further instructed Ishāq to have the men, who assented, interrogate those in their service.

The preamble of the first letter affirms the caliph's right, indeed duty, to issue the *mihna* order. The letter also contains detailed arguments for the createdness of the Qur'an. The caliph supports his claim with numerous Qur'anic verses, discussing the rhetorical questions those verses evoke and the inferences which can be drawn from them. All such verses, wrote al-Ma'mūn, speak with one voice, and loudly: the Qur'an is incontrovertibly a creation of God, not His uncreated speech. While much of this first letter

41. One of the connotations is certainly negative. It is, however, not known when the word acquired this negative connotation except that it was apparently coined by Sunnite chroniclers reporting the events of al-Ma'mūn's reign (see below). Wensinck (*EI1*, s.v. "*mihna*") says that the noun *mihna* is "derived from the root *m-ḥ-n*, appearing in the Arabic verb *maḥana*, "to smooth," and in some Aethiopic derivations, trial (e.g., the trials to which the prophets and especially the family of Muḥammad, the 'Alids, are exposed in this world; ... inquisition)." Patton (1897, 1, n. 1) states that the term generally means a "testing" or "trial." This can be due to "accidents of fortune or the actions of men." Patton adds that *mihna* is often used together with the VIIIth form of *maḥana* (*imtahana*) to refer to "a religious test with a view to obtaining assent to some particular belief or system of beliefs." Hinds (*EI2*, s.v. "*mihna*") adds to Patton's remarks a citation from Abū al-'Arab al-Tamīmī's *Kitāb al-miḥan* to illustrate a general meaning which refers to someone who has "been afflicted (*ubtuliya*) by being killed, imprisoned, flogged, or threatened...." Dozy (1881) reflects both views given above: «persecution» and «le tourment, la torture.» Lane (1863–93) does not add anything substantial. Finally, while the foregoing definitions tend to stress the negative, the verb *imtahana* also means "to look into" or "to examine an issue or a person such as a student" (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, sub "*m ḥ n*").

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38. On the relationship between the Mu'tazilites and Hadith, see Van Ess 1982.

39. \*See *EI3*, s.v. "createdness of the Qur'an" (Martin). A short summary of classical Muslim views on the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an is Heydorn 2006.

40. Later, Bishr returned and acquired much influence at the court of al-Ma'mūn. See *EI2*, s.v. "Bishr ibn Ghiyāth (Carra de Vaux-Nader-Schacht).

John Abdallah Navras, Al-Ma'mun, The Inquisition, and The Quest for Caliphal Authority, Atlanta 2015

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**AHMED IBN HANBAL AND THE MIHNA**  
A BIOGRAPHY OF THE IMAM INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
MOHAMMEDAN INQUISITION CALLED THE MIHNA, 218-234 A.H.

Walter Melville Patton

Ahmed b. Hanbel (010950)  
Mihne (131339)

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12 Nisan 2017

- 3269 NAWAS, John A. A reexamination of three current explanations for Al-Ma'mūn's introduction of the *Mihna*. *Early Islamic history: critical concepts in Islamic studies. Vol. III: Authority and sect formation*. Ed. Tamima Bayhom-Daoui and Teresa Bernheimer. London & New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 43-59. With reference to Mu'tazilism and Shi'ism as possible influences on the caliph's thought. Originally published in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26 iv (1994), pp. 615-629.

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HOLTZMAN, Livnat. The *milna* of Ibn 'Aqil (d. 513/1119) and the *fitna* of Ibn al-Qushayrī (d. 514/1120). *The Oxford handbook of Islamic theology*. Ed. Sabine Schmidtke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 660-678. Describes "two events that took place in eleventh century Baghdad and [supposedly] mark the victory of traditionalist Islam over rationalist Islam".

30 Nisan 2018

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*Mihna*  
131339

- 6598 NAWAS, John A. A reexamination of three current explanations for Al-Ma'mūn's introduction of the *Mihna*. *Early Islamic history: critical concepts in Islamic studies. Vol. III: Authority and sect formation*. Ed. Tamima Bayhom-Daoui and Teresa Bernheimer. London & New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 43-59. With reference to Mu'tazilism and Shi'ism as possible influences on the caliph's thought. Originally published in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26 iv (1994), pp. 615-629. *Maimun* 130304 *Mihne* 131333

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22 Ekim 2018

All the more surprising, then, that we cannot pin him down in any other sources. He is certainly not identical with the Sufi Abū Bakr al-Qaḥṭabī mentioned by Kalabādhi.<sup>108</sup> We may well be closing in when we learn that the poet Mithqāl al-Wāsiṭī, who lived during the second half of the third/ninth century,<sup>109</sup> wrote mocking verses about a certain Qaḥṭabī.<sup>110</sup> Or maybe he was the one cited as the authority for Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Iṣfahānī, the author of *K. al-zahra*.<sup>111</sup> Ibn Dāwūd died 297/910, and the *nisba* al-Qaḥṭabī is comparatively rare. It is true that this connection would take us to Iran, rather than Egypt, but it is not impossible, as Ibn Khābiṭ's ideas continued to thrive in Khūzistān, in the Mu'tazilite community in 'Askar Mukram.<sup>112</sup> It could be imagined that this was where Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār found the inspiration for attributing to the *aṣḥāb al-tanāsukh* an idea that is not recorded anywhere else: that the spirits, once they had accepted the obligation to abide by the law could not rid themselves of it if they wanted to, as they had made a kind of vow. Consequently God had the right to hold them to account.<sup>113</sup> It may have been living reality to the *qāḍī*; after all, it was not far from Khūzistān to Rayy.

We are unable to find out more about Abū Muslim al-Ḥarrānī, whom Baghdādī mentioned following Qaḥṭabī (*Farq* 259, 12ff./276, –5ff. [incorrect *Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī*] > Isfarā'īnī, *Tabṣīr* 121, ult. f./138, 7ff.). It remains to be examined whether the ideas described paved the way for the Nuṣayriyya which emerged in Iraq in the second half of the third century (cf. Halm in: *Der Islam* 58/1981/72ff.); the heresiographers do not mention such a connection.

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- 108 *Ta'arruf* 31, 5 (the *nisba* once again misspelt as *al-Qaḥṭī*; cf. 68, 8); against Massignon, who claimed the two were identical (*Passion* III 113, n. 3/transl. III 103, n. 18).
- 109 He was Ibn al-Rūmī's *rāwī*; cf. GAS 2/603.
- 110 Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'* 403, 7f.
- 111 TB V 259, 10 = Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* VI 94, 10.
- 112 Baghdādī, *Farq* 261, –4ff./278, 9ff. Regarding this community cf. also vol. II 515f.
- 113 Text 20, c–d.

Josef van Ess, *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra: a History of Religious Thought in Early Islam*, c. III, terc. Gwendolin Goldbloom, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2018. **ISAM DN. 271501.**

3.3 The *mihna*

In his Baghdad days Ma'mūn lived up to the image theologians such as Abū l-Hudhayl and Nazzām sketched of the caliph: he presented himself as teacher of the community.<sup>1</sup> He governed religious life by means of edicts; no-one before him had passed so many. He was the first caliph to introduce his decrees with the phrase 'In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate.'<sup>2</sup> It was believed that he thought himself under the protection of God (*ma'šūm*) in his decisions; Abū 'Īsā al-Warrāq and Ibn al-Rēwandī appear to have polemicised against it from the Shī'ite point of view.<sup>3</sup>

Independently of each other and with different emphasis, Ira Lapidus<sup>4</sup> and Tilman Nagel<sup>5</sup> both examined his self-image as ruler and the crisis he precipitated with it.<sup>6</sup> He addressed the public for the first time in 211/826, having a herald proclaim – presumably in the capital only – that whoever spoke well of Mu'āwiya or preferred him over any of the other companions of the prophet would forfeit his civil rights.<sup>7</sup> One year later, in Rabī' I 212/June 827, he affirmed this under the opposite aspect, issuing the proclamation that 'Alī had been the most excellent human being after the prophet's death. At the same time, however, he proclaimed the createdness of the Quran.<sup>8</sup> This time his voice carried further; even a Somali history, *K. al-zanj*, mentioned the event on this date.<sup>9</sup> In 216/831 he – already engaged in religious war against the Byzantines in Syria – ordered his governor in Baghdad to have the troops who were left behind chant a triple *Allāhu akbar* after the communal prayer in the mosque; the first time this was carried out in full view of the general public, during Friday prayers

- 1 Text XV 41. More detail cf. p. 59f. above.
- 2 Ya'qūbī, *Mushākala* 31, 10, and *Tārīkh* 571, 12.
- 3 Ḥākim al-Jushamī, *Safīna* (MS Ambrosiana C 32), fol. 180b, –4ff.
- 4 In: *IJMES* 6/1975/363ff., exp. 378f.
- 5 *Rechtleitung und Kalifat* 440ff.
- 6 M. O. Abu Saq's study *The Politics of the Mihna under al-Ma'mūn and his Successors* (PhD Edinburgh 1971) does not contribute new information. Fahmī Jad'ān, *Al-mihna. Baḥṭh fi jadalīyyat al-dīnī wal-siyāsī fi l-Islām* (Amman 1989), on the other hand, is worth reading.
- 7 Ṭabarī III 1098, 13f.
- 8 *Ibid.* III 1099, 10ff.
- 9 Cerulli, *Somalia* 1 267. Due to the troubles in Iraq Ma'mūn had not been able to concern himself with the East African coast; now the contact and with it his authority had apparently been re-established. We cannot rule out that Ṭabarī distributed events incorrectly among the years 211 and 212; Mas'ūdī – following the same source (or possibly Ṭabarī himself?) has the text of 211 s. a. 212 (*Murūj* VII 90, 5ff./IV 338, 3ff.).

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1 Text xv 41. More detail cf. p. 59f. above.

2 Ya'qūbī, *Mushākala* 31, 10, and *Ta'riḫ* 571, 12.

3 Ḥākim al-Jushamī, *Safīna* (MS Ambrosiana C 32), fol. 180b, –4ff.

4 In: *IJMES* 6/1975/363ff., exp. 378f.

5 *Rechtleitung und Kalifat* 440ff.

6 M. O. Abu Saq's study *The Politics of the Miḥna under al-Ma'mūn and his Successors* (PhD Edinburgh 1971) does not contribute new information. Fahmī Jad'ān, *Al-miḥna. Baḥth fi jadalīyyat al-dīnī wal-siyāsī fi l-Islām* (Amman 1989), on the other hand, is worth reading.

7 Ṭabarī III 1098, 13f.

8 *Ibid.* III 1099, 10ff.

9 Cerulli, *Somalia* I 267. Due to the troubles in Iraq Ma'mūn had not been able to concern himself with the East African coast; now the contact and with it his authority had apparently been re-established. We cannot rule out that Ṭabarī distributed events incorrectly among the years 211 and 212; Mas'ūdī – following the same source (or possibly Ṭabarī himself?) has the text of 211 s. a. 212 (*Murūj* VII 90, 5ff./IV 338, 3ff.).

### 3.3.4 *The miḥna in the Provinces*

We have seen that it was probably the religious climate in Syria that persuaded Ma'mūn to pass his decrees of 218. Abū Mushir, with whom he had quarrelled in Baghdad, was now seen as a hero. A later account of his interrogation in Baghdad claims that the caliph's letter to Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm not only demanded the profession of the *khalq al-Qur'ān* but also renunciation of the vision of God and the punishment of the grave, as well as a confession that one must not take the scales literally and that paradise and hell were not yet created.<sup>1</sup> The judiciary was controlled in Syria as well as in Iraq; Mu'taṣim, who was administering Syria on Ma'mūn's behalf, conveyed the relevant orders to Damascus in 218.<sup>2</sup> Theologians in exposed positions looked for compromise. Hishām b. 'Ammār (153/770–245/859), the official Friday preacher of Damascus, a respected traditionist and Quran reciter,<sup>3</sup> used the formula 'praise be to God who revealed himself to his creation through his creation (i.e. the Quran)', and called the recitation of the Quran created.<sup>4</sup> This formula was close to the expressions Ma'mūn had used in his letter,<sup>5</sup> while the latter belief was one widely held in the province.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to his reputation a number of scholars in Mosul escaped the *miḥna*.<sup>7</sup>

In Mosul a tombstone dating from this time has been found, with an inscription arguing against the *khalq al-Qur'ān* and affirming the vision of God (see ch. C 6.3, end, below). Hishām b. 'Ammār, on the other hand, appears to have interpreted the *ru'yat Allāh* metaphorically (*Malāḥimī, Mu'tamad* 467, 12ff.), rather like Ibn Abī Duwād. He was the teacher of Baqī b. Makhlad, who firmly established tradition science in Spain; he had allowed him, and only him, to spend the night in the Umayyad mosque. This is why in Spain the disagreement between Hishām b. 'Ammār and Ibn Ḥanbal is usually ignored (cf. the text in *Al-Qanṭara* 6/1985/325, –10ff.). Concerning Baqī b. Makhlad in general see Marín in: *Al-Qanṭara* 1/1980/165ff.

- 1 Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik* I 418, 8ff. This is a catalogue of 'Jahmite' rather than Mu'tazilite heresies.
- 2 On 24 Jumādā of this year (18 June 833; TTD II 455, 10ff.). Cf. p. 490 above.
- 3 Regarding him see vol. I 161 above.
- 4 Khallāl, *Musnad* 556, –6ff.; *Mizān* no. 9234.
- 5 Ṭabarī III 118, 5f.
- 6 See ch. C 6.3 below.
- 7 TB XI 471, 11f.

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20 Eylül 2014

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131333

27 Aralık 2015

22 Mayıs 2015

CHAPTER 6

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MADE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

THE MIḤNA AND ITS  
CONTEXT

Mihne (131339)

The Miḥna is most often described as a watershed event in Islamic history, as the first and only time a Caliph behaved as though he possessed the power to define religion but whose assault on traditional social roles was repulsed by the stalwart figure of Ibn Ḥanbal. Scholars keep asking what motivated al-Ma'mūn to initiate the Miḥna. In preparing to answer that question, the preceding chapters explored heresy, orthodoxy, heresy trials, and precedent for the Caliph's actions in defining religion.

Chapter 2 examines the nature of the Caliph's social role and his exercise and acquisition of political and charismatic religious authority. Through this lens we are able to discern the motivations for Caliphal interventions in normative shaping and definitions of orthodoxy. By describing the social roles of doxographers in their attempt at controlling normativity and the rhetorical strategies they employed, I placed Caliphal behavior in deeper context. The Caliphs, as Commander of the Faithful, were part of a normative environment, and their pursuit of heretics using common idioms was an assertion of their social role as the leader of the believers.

To further clarify the model, we applied it to an examination of Ash'arite use of the polemics of naming in comparison with al-Ma'mūn's Miḥna letters. Doing so reveals common points of rhetorical strategy and motives for their deployment. This tells us more about al-Ma'mūn's

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motivations for initiating the Miḥna and his successors in continuing it while illuminating the Ash'arite school of theology's later struggle to assert itself as orthodox. Ash'arite doxographers competed with other participants in the struggle over normative orthodoxy. The debate was acephalous, with no sole arbiter emerging. The process of establishing a school of thought as orthodox explains many features of the Ḥanbalī madhhab's development and their struggle with the burgeoning school of al-Ṭabarī, which we discuss in this chapter.

Caliphs were not the only ones involved in defining orthodoxy but they occasionally saw fit to enforce their definitions coercively. 'Abd al-Malik (d. 86/705), the Caliph responsible for the trial of al-Ḥārith, had just defeated Ibn al-Zubayr (ca. 73/692), reclaiming the empire for the Umayyads while building the Dome of the Rock. The inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock explicitly exclude Christians, thus firming the boundaries of the community of believers.<sup>1</sup> His other bureaucratic reforms (standardization of coinage and use of Arabic) narrowed the definition of elite status. 'Abd al-Malik tried al-Ḥārith for claiming prophecy in the context of redefining what it meant to be a Muslim. 'Abd al-Malik forcefully showed Muḥammad was the seal of prophecy. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 105/724–125/743) needed to establish his legitimacy and credentials as Commander of the Faithful in order to keep the empire unified and his father's accomplishments in place. His immediate predecessors, all of whom had extremely short reigns, faced the same problem. Sulayman had sent armies against Constantinople. Umar II and Yazīd II had emphasized their piety. Each of these Caliphs faced resentment and opposition from those who asserted they had no claim to their social role. To retain power, they had to prove they were the legitimate Commanders of the Faithful. In that vein, Hishām prosecuted Ghaylān for being a proponent of free will and executed him as a heretic. In both of these trials the Caliph actively engaged in setting the boundaries of orthodoxy. By examining and comparing the different versions of each trial we can see how different groups shaped the narrative to establish a view of events that raised their own stature, such as that by later proponents of Ibn Ḥanbal's madhhab.

had it not been for al-Ma'mūn's last great project, which he initiated four months before his death in Rajab 218/August 833: the Quranic Inquisition (*mihnat al-Qur'ān*).

#### THE QURANIC INQUISITION

The *mihna*, which began in 218/833 and lasted until 234/849, was one of the defining episodes in the development of Sunni scholarship and self-consciousness. The theological doctrine whose public acceptance the Inquisition sought to enforce – namely, the createdness of the Quran – was itself of little consequence: beliefs regarding the nature of the Quran as either created or otherwise had no effect on how it was read and interpreted. Rather, the central struggle at the heart of the Inquisition took place between Sunni scholars and the Abbasid ruling apparatus regarding the question of who had the authority to decide such points of creed. While the causes, events, and consequences of the Inquisition as it unfolded in Iraq have been the subject of several studies,<sup>28</sup> the significant impact that it had on the intellectual history of Egypt has thus far been largely ignored.<sup>29</sup> The beginning of the Inquisition in Egypt can be located in a letter, preserved by al-Kindī, that the caliph al-Ma'mūn's brother and successor, Abū Ishāq, sent to the governor of Egypt, Kaydur Naṣr b. 'Abd Allāh (in office 217–19/832–34), on the caliph's behalf in Jumādā II 218 (June or July 833). In the letter, Abū Ishāq informed the governor that he had written to the judges of the realm and instructed them to “test those who attend court to bear witness, and to accept only those who profess to the createdness of the Quran and who are trustworthy.”<sup>30</sup> He ordered the governor to apply the same test to the judge himself and to relieve the latter of his office if he refused to endorse the proposition that the Quran was created. Furthermore, Abū Ishāq commanded the governor to “forbid anyone who is consulted in matters of law among the *ahl al-ḥadīth* to teach or to issue legal opinions as long as he has not ascribed to this article of faith,” adding that he had written

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Walter M. Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Mihna: A Biography of the Imām Including an Account of the Moḥammedan Inquisition Called the Mihna*, 218–234 A. H. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1897); van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 3:446–508; and John Nawas, “A Reexamination of Three Current Explanations for al-Ma'mūn's Introduction of the *Mihna*,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994): 615–29.

<sup>29</sup> For a short account, see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 3:477–79.

<sup>30</sup> Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 446.

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SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

to the judge and directed him, too, to enforce this rule.<sup>31</sup> A month after this letter was written, al-Ma'mūn died and Abū Ishāq succeeded him as the caliph al-Mu'taṣim.

At first glance, these orders appear severe: not only the judiciary, consisting of the judge and court witnesses, was to be subjected to the Inquisition, but also the broader realm of religious and legal scholarship. Consequently, jurists alongside court personnel were officially required to affirm their belief in the createdness doctrine. Most of them apparently did so, and those who did not are said to have fled, which may mean that they left the country or simply that they kept a low profile, ceased teaching, or went into hiding.<sup>32</sup> However, for most of the eight years that constituted al-Mu'taṣim's reign as caliph and Hārūn b. 'Abd Allāh's as judge of Egypt, the implementation of the Inquisition in Egypt remained relatively lenient. The historian Ibn Qudayd (d. 312/925) described this period as “easy,” reporting that “people were not punished, whether they agreed or disagreed with [the createdness doctrine].”<sup>33</sup> There are no accounts from this period of penalties meted out for failing to affirm the doctrine. This laxness was probably due to a lack of political will on the part of al-Mu'taṣim, as well as to Hārūn's reluctance to persecute Egyptian scholars – most of whom were, after all, fellow Mālikīs. While Hārūn's long term in office indicates that he must have given a public affirmation of the createdness doctrine, later Sunni authors did not consider him to have genuinely held this position.<sup>34</sup>

During the last months of al-Mu'taṣim's life, however, the Inquisition in Egypt took a dramatic turn. In 225 or 226/839–41, an imperial decree ordered Hārūn to transport recalcitrant jurists to Iraq for questioning.<sup>35</sup> When Hārūn made clear his unwillingness to carry out this command, Ibn Abī Duwād, the imperial grand judge (in office probably 218–37/833–851 or 852), delegated the task to Muḥammad b. Abī al-Layth al-Aṣamm (d. 251/865 or 866), who shortly thereafter replaced Hārūn as judge of Egypt.

Ibn Abī al-Layth was a Ḥanafī jurist from Khwarazm in Central Asia and had worked as a copyist (*warrāq*) before going to Egypt in 205/820 or 821.<sup>36</sup> Put in control of implementing the Inquisition in the province,

<sup>31</sup> Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 447–48.

<sup>32</sup> Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 447 and 453.

<sup>33</sup> Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 451.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 443–49.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 447.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges*, 449.

26 Ağustos 2015

## THE MIḤNA OF 218 A.H./833 A.D. REVISITED: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

JOHN A. NAWAS

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Exhaustive biographical information from numerous chronicles has been found for twenty-eight of the forty-four men, known by name, who were interrogated on order of al-Ma'mūn in the *miḥna*. Comparable information was obtained for fifty-six randomly selected men used as a control group. The findings indicate that al-Ma'mūn chose to focus on the interrogees, first, on account of their greater intellectual eminence and social influence and, second, to make of them an example to all traditionists, with the aim of censoring the hadith enterprise. This interpretation supports the hypothesis which explains the *miḥna* as a design on the part of al-Ma'mūn to secure for the caliphal institution full control over religious matters. An alternative hypothesis which explains the *miḥna* as an attempt by the caliph to quell opposition is cast into further doubt, in that there was no predominance of (Arab-) Khurasanians within the ranks of the opposition, as this hypothesis states.

AS ONE OF A SEEMINGLY interminable series of papers written in the last hundred years in search of explaining the *miḥna*, it is fitting to introduce this article<sup>1</sup> by recalling Thomas Kuhn's thesis about the manner in which ideas change and evolve.<sup>2</sup> No matter how defective, tattered, and vehement the attack on it is, Kuhn wrote, an explanation, a theory, a supposition, an idea will retain a permanence that will outlive the eloquence and logic of its critics; it will die away only when an alternative comes along, one that explains better, predicts more accurately, and encompasses a wider range of diverse facts in total harmony. We can scarcely aspire to such an ultimate stage, but in the 1970s, explanations of the *miḥna* have undergone what Kuhn calls a "paradigm shift," an intermediate and decisive phase in the natural evolution of ideas. This shift, and the significance to it of the results of the investigation being reported in this article will be described shortly. First, however, a few words about the *miḥna* itself, a phenomenon that—though now over a millennium old, and a single event in the twenty-years-long reign of the man who ordered it—continues to puzzle researchers and engage their attention.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This research was supported by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). I am grateful to Prof. Richard W. Bulliet for the valuable suggestions he made on an earlier draft. The responsibility for the content of the paper is, of course, fully my own.

<sup>2</sup> T. S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1962).

<sup>3</sup> For a general overview see, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (E<sup>2</sup>), s.v. (Martin Hinds). A monographic treatment of the

The name of the seventh Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 198–218/813–833) has become synonymous with the *miḥna*, "inquisition," which in 218/833, just four months before his sudden death, the caliph ordered his governor of Baghdad, Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, to initiate. Of the various reasons for this lasting link between al-Ma'mūn and the *miḥna*, the following are of signal importance. 1) An order which essentially aimed at forcing compliance with a particular doctrinal issue runs counter to all that is known about al-Ma'mūn—his breadth of intellectual horizon, commitment to the path of reason, patronage of wide-ranging and open debates, dedication to infusing Islamic scholarship and modes of thought with alien ideas and novel outlooks on the world. 2) The *miḥna* had no precedent in Islam, al-Ma'mūn barred no means for implementing it, and the number of men subjected to it ran into the hundreds. 3) The *miḥna* stood in violation of the letter and spirit of the Qur'an.<sup>4</sup> 4) As though this infringement on the Qur'an were not enough, the caliph saw fit to make its status the touchstone of the inquisition, requiring the interrogees to acquiesce in the doctrine that the Book was a created object (the *khalq al-qur'ān*).

For some seven decades beginning with the first extensive and serious study of the *miḥna* by Patton in 1897,<sup>5</sup> explanations—more accurately, explanatory hypotheses—have focused on some variation or other of a

subject is Fahmī Jad'ān, *Al-Miḥna: Bahth fi jadaliyyat al-dīni wa al-siyāsi fi al-Islām* (ʿAmmān: Dār al-shurūḡ li-al-nashr wa al-tawzīʿ, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Qur'an 2:256: "lā ikrāha fi al-dīn . . ." meaning "no compulsion in religion."

<sup>5</sup> Walter M. Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Miḥna* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1897).

Mu'tazilite/Shi'ite theme. Proponents of this perspective would have us believe that what drove al-Ma'mūn to write this extraordinary chapter in the history of Islam was his need to gain the approbation of Mu'tazilites and Shi'ites, by expressing support for their views. This outlook, extensively discussed by Gabrieli and Sourdel,<sup>6</sup> leaves the impression that al-Ma'mūn was a naive sentimentalist, a view that runs counter to the overwhelming consensus that he was, rather, a very shrewd, realistic, foresighted politician, if not an outright "Machiavellian," as al-Dūrī thinks he was.<sup>7</sup> It is true that al-Ma'mūn appreciated the Mu'tazilites' openness to unfamiliar perspectives and ideas, but some of their tenets did not sit well with him, and al-Ma'mūn's circle of intimate intellectual companions included both Mu'tazilite thinkers and strong anti-Mu'tazilites as well.<sup>8</sup> It is also true that the caliph did have a soft spot for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, son-in-law of the Prophet, and was partial to the 'Alids and their followers, the *shī'at* 'Alī ("partisans of 'Alī," hence Shi'ism), but this does not justify the inferential jump that the *miḥna* was a consequence. Only when proponents of the Mu'tazilism/Shi'ism explanation are able to meet two essential requirements can their views be taken seriously. First, they have to spell out those elements which transcend or cut across the heterogeneity of the vague, clashing, directionless strands of ideas-in-the-making which is all that Shi'ism/Mu'tazilism of the time had. Second, they must identify the causal bond between this rhapsody and al-Ma'mūn's issuance of the *miḥna* order.

The Mu'tazilite/Shi'ite genre of hypotheses has lost ground in the last twenty years in two ways. Central to the first is the idea that, in carrying out the *miḥna*, al-Ma'mūn was basically setting his sights on the future, aiming to secure for the caliphal institution a universal and unquestioned authority on all matters, secular and sacred, a status that was in force during the Umayyad period and was especially characteristic of the founders of Islam but had since vanished. Allowing for variations in

details and accents, this hypothesis was championed by Tilman Nagel and by Crone and Hinds, and it continues to gain support.<sup>9</sup> The second explanatory perspective, adopted by Ira Lapidus and Wilferd Madelung, albeit in somewhat differing versions, regards the *miḥna* as a measure al-Ma'mūn had taken to quell festering resentments and ongoing opposition to his regime by several groupings and factions in which a Khurasanian background is quite prominent.<sup>10</sup>

The work of Lapidus signals two breaks with past tradition, one in content, the other in the direction of researching the *miḥna*. His alternative explanatory hypothesis, just sketched and to which we shall return later, has already opened up a new avenue of inquiry and debate. No less important is the course he has taken, leading us away from the well-trodden path of probing the motives and external influences which may have induced the caliph to order the inquisition. Instead, Lapidus turned the focus to characteristics of the men whom al-Ma'mūn happened to single out for inquisition. In his recent call for a systematic, in-depth, scrutiny of biographical entries on the interrogees, van Ess, too, is of the opinion that clues to whatever al-Ma'mūn sought to accomplish may well be found in the men whom al-Ma'mūn surely did not pick at random.<sup>11</sup>

The study reported in this article derives from the outlook of Lapidus and van Ess, but the method and procedures of its execution owe their logic to a direction in historical research that is firmly embedded in an empirical, social-scientific approach, which gives factual data priority over impressionistic constructions. The results of our investigation will have direct bearing on our postulated "paradigm shift," and on the "Khurasanian connection" and "caliphal authority" hypotheses,

<sup>9</sup> Tilman Nagel, *Rechtleitung und Kalifat: Versuch über eine Grundfrage der islamischen Geschichte*, Studien zum Minderheitenproblem im Islam, 2 (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität, 1974). Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986). Nawas, "Reexamination."

<sup>10</sup> Ira M. Lapidus, "The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975): 363–85. Wilferd Madelung, "The Vigilante Movement of Saḥl b. Salāma al-Khurasāni and the Origins of Ḥanbalism Reconsidered," *Journal of Turkish Studies (Fahir İz Festschrift)*, 14 (1990): 331–37.

<sup>11</sup> Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 3:448, n. 28.

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DOKÜMANTASYON MERKEZİ 15

أخرجوه ؛ وجاء ثوفيل - ملك الروم - فأحاط بعجيف فسّر المأمون إليه الجنود فارتحل ملك الروم قبل موافاتهم . وخرج أهل لؤلؤة إلى عجيف بأمان .

وحجّ بالناس في هذه السنة سليمان بن عبد الله بن سليمان بن علي .  
ودخلت سنة ثمانى عشرة ومائتين .

### ذكر المحنة بالقرآن المجيد

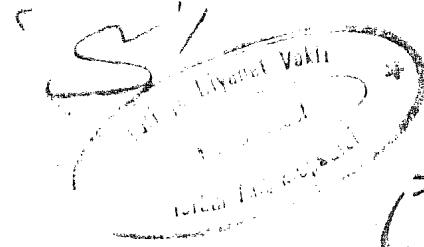
في هذه السنة كتب المأمون إلى إسحاق بن إبراهيم ببغداد في امتحان القضاة والفقهاء<sup>(١)</sup> والمحدثين بالقرآن ، فن أقر أنه مخلوق محدث خلق سبيله ، ومن أبي أعلمه به ليأمر فيه برأيه ، وطول كتابه بإقامة الدليل على خلق القرآن وكان الكتاب في شهر ربيع الأول ، وأمره بإنفاذ سبعة نفر منهم محمد بن سعد كاتب الواقدي<sup>(٢)</sup> ، وأبو مسلم مستملى يزيد بن هارون ، وخبزي بن معين وأبو خيثمة زهير بن حرب ، وإسماعيل بن أبي مسعود ، وأحمد الدؤوبي . فأشخصوا إليه فامتحنهم وسألهم عن القرآن . فأجابوا جميعاً أن القرآن مخلوق فأعادهم إلى بغداد . وأحضرهم إسحاق بن إبراهيم داره وشهر قلوبهم بحضرة المشايخ من أهل الحديث . فأقروا بذلك فعلى سبيلهم . وورد كتاب المأمون بعد ذلك إلى إسحاق بن إبراهيم بامتحان القضاة والفقهاء . فأحضر أبا حسان الزياتي . وبشر بن الوليد الكندي . وعلى بن أبي مقاتل<sup>(٣)</sup> ، والفضل بن غانم ، والذكيال بن الهيثم<sup>(٤)</sup> وسجادة . والقواريري ، وأحمد بن حنبل ، وقتيبة ، وسعدويه الواسطي ، وعلى بن الجعد ، وإسحاق بن أبي إسرائيل ، وابن الهيثم ، وابن علقمة الأكبر ،

(١) ساقطة من ف. ك

(٢) في المخطوطات : محمد بن سعد الواقدي الكاتب والتصويب عن الكامل ج ٢ ص ٢٢٣

(٣) ذكره المؤلف هنا على بن مقاتل ثم صححه في آخر الفصل

(٤) في المخطوطات : أبو الذكيال والتصويب عن الكامل ج ٥ ص ٢٢٤ والطبري ج ٧ ص ٢٠٠



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## THE MIḤNA OF 218 A.H./833 A.D. REVISITED: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

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<sup>2</sup> T. S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1962).

<sup>3</sup> For a general overview see, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (*EI*<sup>2</sup>), s.v. (Martin Hinds). A monographic treatment of the

The name of the seventh Abbasid caliph al-Maʿmūn (r. 198–218/813–833) has become synonymous with the *miḥna*, "inquisition," which in 218/833, just four months before his sudden death, the caliph ordered his governor of Baghdad, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, to initiate. Of the various reasons for this lasting link between al-Maʿmūn and the *miḥna*, the following are of signal importance. 1) An order which essentially aimed at forcing compliance with a particular doctrinal issue runs counter to all that is known about al-Maʿmūn—his breadth of intellectual horizon, commitment to the path of reason, patronage of wide-ranging and open debates, dedication to infusing Islamic scholarship and modes of thought with alien ideas and novel outlooks on the world. 2) The *miḥna* had no precedent in Islam, al-Maʿmūn barred no means for implementing it, and the number of men subjected to it ran into the hundreds. 3) The *miḥna* stood in violation of the letter and spirit of the Qurʾān.<sup>4</sup> 4) As though this infringement on the Qurʾān were not enough, the caliph saw fit to make its status the touchstone of the inquisition, requiring the interrogees to acquiesce in the doctrine that the Book was a created object (the *khalq al-qurʾān*).

For some seven decades beginning with the first extensive and serious study of the *miḥna* by Patton in 1897,<sup>5</sup> explanations—more accurately, explanatory hypotheses—have focused on some variation or other of a

subject is Fahmī Jadʿān, *Al-Miḥna: Baḥṭh fī jadaliyyat al-dīnī wa al-siyāsī fī al-islām* (ʿAmmān: Dār al-shurūq li-al-nashr wa al-tawzīʿ, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Qurʾān 2:256: "lā ikrāha fī al-dīn . . ." meaning "no compulsion in religion."

<sup>5</sup> Walter M. Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Miḥna* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1897).

THE ORIGINS OF THE CONTROVERSY  
CONCERNING THE CREATION OF THE KORAN

BY

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Wie das Wort so wichtig dort war,  
Weil es ein gesprochen Wort war.  
(GOETHE, *West-östlicher Divan*).

Ever since the end of the great Trial (*miḥna*) instituted by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn in support of his dogma of the creation of the Koran, the thesis that the Koran is "the speech of God, uncreated (*kalām Allāh ḡayr maḥlūq*)" has been a firmly established part of the Sunnite creed. The interpretation of the formula, however, always provoked much discussion and controversy among the Sunnite schools of theology, and there were those, Mu'tazilites and others, who continued to defend the opposite thesis, that the Koran is created. The nature of the Koran thus has remained one of the most widely discussed questions in Muslim theology.

While this discussion from the time of the *miḥna* on is well documented in the extant religious literature and can be thoroughly analyzed as to its underlying motivations and ramifications within the theological systems of the various schools, the examination of the origins of the controversy and its development until the *miḥna* is severely hampered by the lack of contemporary sources and the reticence and often ambiguity of later reports. The later sources contain but little information which definitely refers to the age preceding the *miḥna* by more than two or three decades. It has been argued with good reason that most of the views and arguments attacked in the traditionalist works of the 3rd/9th century entitled "refutations of the Ḡahmiyya", as the first asserters of the creation of the Koran were called, belonged to some theologians flourishing in the last quarter of the 2nd/8th century, i.e. the time immediately preceding the *miḥna*, and later.<sup>1</sup> Did then the public debate about the nature of the Koran

<sup>1</sup> W. M. WATT, "Early discussions about the Qur'ān", in *MW* XL (1950), pp. 29f.; W. MADELUNG, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, pp. 241ff.

begin only toward the end of the 2nd/8th century? This can hardly be maintained in view of the definite, even though scanty, reports attributing certain positions in the conflict to earlier scholars. The relative lack of interest in the debate preceding this period may, however, indicate that the controversy then reached a new stage which made much of the earlier debate appear irrelevant.

As the first asserters of the creation of the Koran the sources usually name al-Ḡa'd b. Dirham, who was executed for his heretical views in the last years of the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hišām (d. 125/743),<sup>1</sup> and al-Ḡahm b. Ṣafwān, who was killed in the year 128/745 as a participant in the rebellion of al-Ḥārith b. Surayḡ in Ḥurāsān.<sup>2</sup> Concerning the heretical views of al-Ḡa'd, Abū Sa'id al-Dārimī (d. 282/896) and Abū Bakr al-Ḥallāl (d. 311/923) relate a report with a full chain of transmitters according to which Ḥālid al-Qasrī, the governor of Iraq, slaughtered him in public on the day of the Feast of Sacrifices accusing him of having asserted that "God has not taken Abraham as his friend, nor has he spoken to Moses".<sup>3</sup> While the report has a somewhat legendary coloring and may not be completely reliable, the heretical statement with which it charges al-Ḡa'd deserves a closer examination. Its meaning and connection with the doctrine of the creation of the Koran is clarified by the reports of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal

<sup>1</sup> On al-Ḡa'd, cf. G. VAJDA, art. "Ibn Dirham", in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>; Ḥālid al-'ASALĪ, *Ḡahm b. Ṣafwān wa-makānatuhū fī l-fikr al-Islāmī*, Bagdād 1965, pp. 47ff.

<sup>2</sup> On al-Ḡahm cf. W. M. WATT, art. "Djahm b. Ṣafwān", in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>; al-'ASALĪ, *op. cit.* According to Ibn Qutayba, however, the extremist Ši'ite Bayān b. Sam'ān was the first to assert that the Koran was created (*'uyūn al-aḥbār*, Dār al-Kutub ed., II 148; *ta'wīl muḥtaliḡ al-ḥadīḡ*, Cairo 1326, p. 87). Later sources like Ibn al-Aṭīr (*al-Kāmil*, ed. Thornberg, VII 49) claim that al-Ḡahm took the doctrine from al-Ḡa'd, and the latter took it from Bayān, who in turn received it from Ṭālūt, the nephew and son-in-law of the Jew Labid b. al-A'sam, who had applied sorcery against the Prophet. Labid had maintained that the Tora was created, and Ṭālūt, who was a Manichaean (*zindīq*), wrote the first book about it. This chain of transmission of the heresy obviously is purely fictitious. None of the sources which report about Bayān's view in detail mention his having asserted the creation of the Koran. His anthropomorphic doctrine is, as al-'Asalī has pointed out, diametrically opposed to the rationalist theology ascribed to al-Ḡa'd (on Bayān cf. M. G. S. HODGSON, art. "Bayān b. Sam'ān al-Tamīmī", in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>; al-'ASALĪ, *Ḡahm*, pp. 39-47). Ibn Qutayba's statement may rest on a confusion of al-Ḡa'd with Bayān, since both were executed by Ḥālid al-Qasrī as heretics.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Dārimī, *al-radd 'alā l-Ḡahmiyya*, ed. G. Vitestam, pp. 4, 100; Abū Bakr al-Ḥallāl, *al-muḥad min masā'il Abī 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, ms. Brit. Mus., Or. 2675, fol. 147v., where the order of the two statements of al-Ḡa'd is reversed. Al-Ḥallāl's chain of transmitters of the report includes Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. A relative of one of the transmitters claimed that al-Ḡa'd was the father or grandfather of al-Ḡahm b. Ṣafwān.

Mihne

AHMAD IBN HANBAL:  
THE SAINT-SCHOLAR OF BAGHDAD

ZIAUL HAQUE

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (164—241/780—855), the great Traditionist (*Muḥaddith*) of Baghdad, the founder of Ḥanbalī School (*madhhab*) of Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) has aptly been called by the famous historian of Baghdad, Abu Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070) as "the leader (*imām*) of the *Muḥaddithūn*, helper of religion (*dīn*), defender of the early normative social conduct (*Sunna*) and endurer of suffering in the Inquisition (*Mihna*)."<sup>1</sup> The life and character of Ibn Ḥanbal essentially reflect the social decadence and moral chaos into which the 'Abbāsīd society of the early third century Hijra had fallen. The political and economic malaise, and the theological-philosophical schisms, and social suppression of the general masses had deepened the hiatus between the ruler and the ruled and had increased dangers of foreign attacks on the Muslim community riven with political and ideological disunity.

Ibn Ḥanbal's fame in reality rests on his heroic struggle against the false religio-political dogmas of the autocratic 'Abbāsīd caliphs, the dogmas which were neither based on the Qur'ān nor on the *Aḥādīth* of the holy Prophet.

He did not submit to the coercion of the oppressors, but boldly stuck to his conviction that the Qur'ān is the revelation of the divine word to mankind: 'a spring from which the servants of God draw inspiration'.

He was a great scholar, a Traditionist, and a great man of high moral qualities. He lived like ordinary and common people, living with them and sharing their woes and weals, pains and sufferings.

In this article we shall discuss his life and character, the nature of *Mihna* (Inquisition) to which he was subjected by the 'Abbāsīd rulers; his theological views of the Creation of the Qur'ān (*Khalq al-Qur'ān*) and his political stand-point *vis-à-vis* the autocratic rule of the 'Abbāsīds will also be examined. We shall also try to analyse his general beliefs in the context of dialectical theology and social relations of his contemporary society. The early *Muḥaddithūn* who

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## MEDINA See Holy Cities

## MIHNA

"Mihna" is the Arabic term for a test or a trial. In its most common historical usage, Mihna refers to the inquisition launched by the seventh Abbasid caliph, al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) toward the end of his reign to enforce the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an. The Mihna has loomed large in the way medieval historians represented the reign and the legacy of al-Ma'mun, and modern scholars have often seen the Mihna and its eventual failure as a major episode in the religious and political history of the first centuries of Islam.

## History

In 833, while at Raqqa in northern Mesopotamia, al-Ma'mun wrote to his governor of Baghdad, ordering him to examine the views held by his judges and the scholars of hadith regarding the Qur'an. The caliph believed that, contrary to what "ignorant" people thought, the Qur'an was not eternally existent—for this was an attribute that belonged only to God—but created by Him, and that this was how God Himself had spoken of it. Therefore, al-Ma'mun believed, supposing the Qur'an to be uncreated and eternal threatened to compromise the unity (*tawhid*) of God, and thus to undermine the very foundations of religion. As he lamented in his letters to his governor, most people were too ignorant of the reality of religion to hold sound beliefs about it, and yet they—and the demagogues who aspired to their leadership—claimed to be the most assiduous followers of Muhammad's

normative example, the hadith. As one entrusted with knowledge, and with the obligation to uphold "God's right[s]," al-Ma'mun wanted therefore to see to it that false beliefs about the Qur'an were rectified.

Most of those who were examined on the question of the Qur'an's createdness—by al-Ma'mun's governor of Baghdad, by the caliph himself, or by his officials in the provinces—ended up declaring their adherence to the caliphal position. The most famous dissenter, however, was the noted hadith scholar of Baghdad, Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855). He, alongside another recalcitrant scholar, was sent to al-Ma'mun's military camp in Tarsus to be interrogated, but the caliph died before he could attend to the matter and Ibn Hanbal was returned to Baghdad. This, however, was only the beginning of the Mihna, and of Ibn Hanbal's long and much-celebrated ordeal.

In the history of Islamic theology, the doctrine of the uncreatedness of the Qur'an (*khalq al-Qur'an*) is associated primarily with the rationalist Mu'tazila school. However, several other theologians also held this position. These theologians have often been characterized in Islamic heresiography as the "Jahmiyya," for their putative association with doctrines held by an early and much-maligned figure named Jahm b. Safwan (d. 745). Al-Ma'mun himself was not a Mu'tazili, for he did not share the Mu'tazila's characteristic doctrine of free will, but he agreed with them on the createdness of the Qur'an. Already in 827, the caliph had publicly declared his support for this doctrine, though it was only in 833 that he went on to institute the Mihna.

On his deathbed, al-Ma'mun left instructions that his successor, Abu Ishaq al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–842), continue to uphold his position on the Qur'an. During the latter's reign, Ibn Hanbal was interrogated and flogged for refusing to accept the Qur'an's createdness. A central figure during the Mihna years was the Mu'tazili chief judge, Ahmad Ibn Abi Du'ad (d. 854), who is represented in Sunni historiography as being far more anxious to continue the Inquisition than the caliphal successors of al-Ma'mun themselves might have been. Later historians also lay much of the responsibility for the flogging of Ibn Hanbal on Ibn Abi Du'ad. For his part, Ibn Hanbal is reported to have remained steadfast despite the flogging, after which he was released and left alone by the prosecutors of the Mihna. His release is usually explained in Sunni historiography as being due to fears of popular commotion against his persecution, though some (largely unfavorable) sources claim the real reason for it to have been that he too had eventually capitulated to the authorities. This, however, seems unlikely, in view of the severity with which Ibn Hanbal himself later treated many of those who had acknowledged the doctrine of the Qur'an's createdness during the Mihna.

The Inquisition continued under al-Mu'tasim's successor, al-Wathiq (r. 842–847), who appears to have pursued it

**THEOLOGY** See Disputation; Kalam; Law

**TITLES, ISLAMIC** See Sayyid; Sharif; Shaykh al-Islam

## TIMBUKTU

During the early medieval period, Timbuktu was a seasonal camp of Berber nomadic tribes as they took their livestock to the Niger River during the dry season. It became a semi-permanent settlement in the twelfth century. By the fifteenth century, the settlement had become one of the most famous intellectual and commercial cities of the African continent. Salt and gold were among the precious products sought after in Timbuktu. Merchants and scholars from North Africa visited or settled in there during the second half of the fourteenth century. A number of universities were established in Timbuktu from the fifteenth century onwards. Notable among them are the following: Sankore, which was established by Sanhaja Berbers; Djingerey Bey; and the Oratory of Sidi Yahya. Their course offerings included the study of the Qur'an, the hadith, law, theology, rhetoric, logic, prosody, and Arabic grammar. The universities of Timbuktu maintained close contact with other universities in North Africa and Egypt. They offered the same topics and recognized each other's degrees.

The two major sources of the political history of the medieval Western Sudan are the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan* (History of the Black people) and the *Ta'rikh al-Fattash* (History of the researcher) were written by Timbuktu scholars: 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sa'di and Mahmud Ka'ti, respectively. During the 1990s, the al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation published catalogues of thousands of manuscripts in Arabic or Ajami located in the libraries and private collections of Timbuktu. These manuscripts include scholarly works and other documents, providing crucial information on the religious social, economic, and political history of the region.

See also Africa, Islam in; Kunti, Mukhtar al-

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## TOUBA

The city of Touba is located in the region of Diourbel in Senegal, West Africa. It is the second largest city in Senegal and (in 2001) had approximately one quarter of a million inhabitants. The city was established in 1887 by Ahmad Bamba, the founder of the Muridiyya (Mouride) brotherhood (*tariqa*), as the headquarters for his new brotherhood. According to tradition, the location was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel while he was seated praying. The French, fearful of an uprising against their regime, did not permit Ahmad Bamba to live in Touba but he continued to see it as a holy site and the center of his brotherhood. Succeeding caliphs would either live in Touba or have a principal home there.

Before his death in 1927 Ahmad Bamba began the construction of the great mosque in Touba, which is today the largest mosque in Senegal. The founder's mausoleum is in Touba as are several religious and Arabic schools, libraries, historical sites, and tombs of other Muridiyya leaders. The city is home to the annual Muridiyya festival, the Magal. The date of the Magal marks the exile of Ahmad Bamba to Gabon, symbolizing his suffering and resistance to the French colonial authorities. Hundreds of thousands of disciples make the pilgrimage every year to pray at the founder's tomb and to celebrate their religion. Especially during the immediate pre- and post-independence periods, when Muriddiyya caliphs played a large role in the political process of Senegal, Touba was a major seat of political as well as religious power.

See also Africa, Islam in; Bamba, Ahmad; Tariqa.

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## TRADITIONALISM

The term *traditionalism* is commonly used to describe the early Islamic movement that coalesced around the ideas of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 855) during the *mihna* (inquisition, c. 833-847). Traditionalism indicates the loose configuration of scholars who rejected the rationalist interpretation of Islamic

Atatürk'ün en çok kullandığı sözcük "medeniyet" olmuştur. Medeniyet, medenileşmek Atatürkçü düşüncenin hareket noktasıdır. 1924'te şu sözleriyle medeniyet gerçeğini ortaya koymaktadır:

"Medeniyet, cumhuriyeti yükseltecektir. Türk İnkılabı medeniyet dünyasında layık olduğumuz mevkiî temin edecektir."

Atatürkçü siyasal düşünceye hakim olan tez, medeni ve laik bir toplum olma. Türk Milletinin Atatürk'ün önderliğinde gerçekleştirdiği Türk İnkılabının temel ilkelerinden birisi de laikliktir. Bu ilke Türk İnkılabını oluşturan köklü değişikliklerin çoğunda etkisini gösterir. Atatürkçülük, fizik ötesi hususlar için dini temel vazifesi olan ve kul ile Allah'ı birbirine bağlamaya ilişkin esaslarını ve ibadet şekillerini olduğu gibi kabul etmektedir. Atatürkçülükte taassupsuzluk, samimiyetle uygulanması öngörülen bir kavramdır. Vicdan ve din hürriyetleri Atatürkçülüğün temelindeki hürriyetlerdir. Her kişi istediği dinin gerekleri yapmak veya uygulamakta serbesttir<sup>9</sup>. Laiklik devrimizin ihtiyaçlarından doğma bir mecburiyettir.

Atatürk'e göre, acılarımızın baş nedeni dünya gidişine yabancı kalışımızdır. Bu sebeple milleti en kısa yoldan medeniyetin nimetlerine kavuşturmak gerekiyordu. İnkılapların ana ilkesi budur. O, 1923'te inkılap ahlakını dile getiren politikayı şu şekilde çiziyordu:

" Arkadaşlar! Bundan sonra pek mühim zaferlere ulaşacağız. Fakat bu zaferler süngü zaferleri değil, iktisat ve ilim zaferleri olacaktır."

Türk İnkılabının medeniyetçiliği, yapı değişikliğidir. Meşrutiyetten kalma bütün bocalamaları, kararsızlıkları bir tarafa itip, yeni ufuklara yönelmektir. Cumhuriyet de bu yönelişten doğmuştur. Millî devletin siyasal ve sosyal gerçeklerini kapsadığı için, köklerini Türk İnkılabının en derinlerinden aldığı için önemli ve anlamlı bir aşamadır. Cumhuriyetçilik, Milliyetçilik, Devletçilik, Laiklik, Halkçılık, İnkılapçılık ilkelerinin ışığında yapılan inkılaplar, Türk Milletinin tamamen yeni bir yapıya ulaşmasını sağlamıştır. Atatürkçülük askeri, siyasî, ekonomik, sosyal yönleri olan inkılaplar dizisidir.

## ABBÂSÎLER'İN DİNÎ POLİTİKASI: MİHNE: DİNÎ-SİYASÎ BİR ÇEKİŞME

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Me'mûn'la birlikte Abbâsî devlet politikasında önemli değişiklikler olmuştur. Abbâsîler çeşitli yönelişlere farklı düşünce ve hedeflere sahip siyasî ve dinî güçlerin birlikte gerçekleştirdikleri kesin bir ihtilal sonucu iktidara geldiklerinden hâkimiyetlerinin başlangıcından itibaren kendilerini destekleyecek geniş bir İslâmî temele dayanma zorunluluğu duymuşlardır. Me'mûn'a kadar olan ilk Abbâsî halifeleri çeşitli siyasî ve dinî muhâliflerine karşı varlıklarını korumak, hâkimiyetin ellerinde kalmasını sağlamak ve özellikle Hz. Ali Evlâdına geçmesine mani olmak için hadis alimlerinden ve fukahâdan birçoklarıyla sıkı bir ilişki kurmaya ve onları yanlarına çekmeye çalışmışlardır.<sup>1</sup> Bunun yanında etkin nüfuzları olan Mu'tezile âlimlerinden de istifade cihetine gitmişler,<sup>2</sup> bilhassa Halife Mansûr Abbâsî devletine Mu'tezile desteğini sağlayabilmek için büyük çaba sarfetmişler.<sup>3</sup>

Mu'tezile âlimlerinin İmâmet (Hilâfet, Devlet Başkanlığı) konusundaki düşüncelerinin Çulât ve İmâniyye Şia'sının nüfuzlarını kırmada ve onların görüşleri karşısında Abbâsîlere büyük faydaları olmuştur. Mu'tezile'den birçokları İmâmet'in nass yoluyla Hz. Ali Evlâdına ait olduğu görüşüne karşı çıktıkları gibi Şia'nın "İsmet" sıfatına yani imamların davranışlarında ve sözlerinde masum oldukları, hata işlemelerinin caiz olmadığı görüşüne de karşı çıkarak ümmetin kendi imamını hür bir şekilde seçebileceğini savunmuşlardır. Aynı zamanda Mâniviyye, Dehriyye ve diğer zındıklık<sup>4</sup> hareketleri karşısında İslâm'ı müdâfaa etmişlerdir.<sup>5</sup>

1 Fâruk Ömer, "Mevkîfî'l-Mu'tezile'ti's-siyâsî mine'l-Abbâsiyyîn (132-193/750-809)", *Mecelletü'l-Aklâm*, Bağdat 1968, 57-59. Ayrıca bkz. Bernard Lewis, *Tarihte Araplar*, trc. H.D. Yıldız, İstanbul 1979, 102.

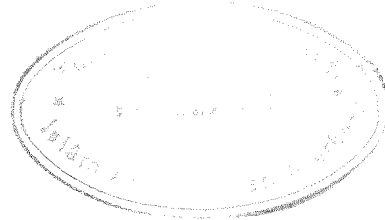
2 Fâruk Ömer, "Mevkîfî...", 68.

3 Muhammed Ammâra, *Mu'tezile ve Devrim*, trc. İbrahim Akbaba, İstanbul 1988, 147. Mansûr'dan itibaren Me'mûn'a kadar Abbâsî Halifelerinin Mu'tezile alimleriyle ilişkileri hakkında bkz. Fehmî Ced'ân, *el-Mihne: Bahsîn fi cedeliyyeti'd-dîni ve's-siyâsî fi'l-İslâm*, Amman 1989, 47-102 vd.

4 Zındıklık (zendaka), bunların inançları İslâm ilke ve prensiplerinden tamamıyla uzak olup haramları kabul etmeyen, âdabı muâşereti alt üst eden, siyasî ve ictimâî hayatı tehlikeye atan bir anlayışa dayanır. Zındık kelimesi değişik asırlarda farklı manalar kazanmıştır. Araplar bu kelimeyi Allah'ın varlığını inkar eden veya ortağı bulunduğunu kabul eden kimseler için kullanmışlardır. Zındık kelimesinin küfrünü gizleyip mü'min görünen kimse için kullanıldığı da söylenir. Bu kelime önceleri davranışlarında İranlıları taklit eden, abes ve eğlenceye düşkün kimseler için daha sonraları Manizm mezhebine girip iki tanrı inancını benimseyen (ikici, dualist) herkes için kullanılmıştır. Abbâsîler döneminde ise, kelimenin manası genişletilmiş, ulûhiyyeti inkar eden ve dinde haffîlik gösteren herkes için kullanılmıştır. Geniş bilgi için bkz. Hasan İbrahim Hasan, *İslâm Tarihi*, trc. İ. Yiğit-S. Gümüş vd., I-VI, İstanbul 1987, II, 417-418; Bekir Topaloğlu, "Zındık", *İA.*, XIII, 558-560;

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## MİHNE SÜRECİNDE HANEFİLER

Mehmet ÜMİT\*

### Özet

#### Mihne Sürecinde Hanefiler

Bu çalışmada, önce Mihne dönemine kadar Hanefilerin halku'l-Kur'ân hakkındaki görüşleri incelenmektedir. Daha sonra Mihne uygulamaları esnasında halku'l-Kur'ân konusunda birbirinden farklı düşünen Hanefilerin durumları ele alınmaktadır. Kur'ân'ın yaratılmış olduğunu kabul eden Hanefiler Mihne sürecinde kadı olarak görev aldılar. Bu anlayışı kabul etmeyenler, fetva vermekten men edildiler. Mihne sonrası dönemde ise, halku'l-Kur'ân anlayışını kabul etmeyen Hanefiler kâdî olarak görevlendirildiler. Bu anlayışı kabul eden Hanefilerin kâdîlik görevlerine atanmaları engellendi.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Mihne, halku'l-Kur'ân, Hanefi, kâdî.

### Abstract

#### The Hanafites in the Mihna Period

In this article, I will first investigate the Hanafite position vis-à-vis the doctrine of the created nature of the Qur'an (*Khalq al-Qur'an*) in the period preceding the *Mihna* period. Secondly, I will deal with the different positions of the Hanafite scholars with respect to this doctrine during the *Mihna* period. The Hanafite scholars who adopted this doctrine functioned as judge during the *Mihna* period while the others who rejected the same doctrine were not allowed even to give *fatwâ*. In the period of after the *Mihna* the Hanafite scholars who didn't accept the createdness of the Qur'an are placed as Muslim Judge (Qâdî). The nomination of the others who believe it are prevented to the post of Qâdî.

**Key words:** the *Mihna* period, the created nature of the Qur'an, the Hanafites, muslim judge (Qâdî).

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Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā l-Tamīmī, Ibn Rāhawayh, Qutayba b. Sa'īd, and Sa'īd b. Maṣū̄r. This analysis of al-Dhahabī's *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* demonstrates the cultural florescence at the courts and in the *ḥadīth* sessions in the mosques during the time of Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Ma'īn, and Ibn Ḥanbal that emanated from Iraq to Egypt in the west and Balkh in the east, and which witnessed the compilation of several great textual achievements of Islamic civilization.

V.3 *The miḥna and its impact upon Sunnī ḥadīth scholarship*

It is necessary that we make one last digression prior to the formal introduction of the three scholars and their primary transmitters whose texts I analyze in the second half of this book. The "inquisition" (*miḥna*) set in motion by the caliph al-Ma'mūn (ruled 198–218/813–33) has attracted the attention of several Western scholars over the past century and has achieved an almost mythic status in the literature. After I review briefly the little historical information that has been preserved in the classical Islamic sources about this episode, I shall summarize the main points of Lapidus, Hinds, Nawas, Patton, and Zaman. This section concludes with a reconsideration of the significance of the *miḥna* from the hitherto neglected angle of its impact upon *ḥadīth* scholarship in both the long and short runs of Islamic civilization.

Martin Hinds has assembled the most coherent narrative of the sixteen-to-nineteen-year episode known as the *miḥna* in his article "miḥna" in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.<sup>123</sup> Only the origins of the *miḥna* during the last four months of al-Ma'mūn's life (218/833) can be recovered with any clarity, thanks to al-Ṭabarī's inclusion of three caliphal letters explaining the goals of this unusual event in his chronicle under the year 218.<sup>124</sup> The language of these letters borders on the hysterical, as can be seen in the following two passages:

The Commander of the Faithful considers that these people are the worst of the Muslim community and the chief ones in error, the ones

<sup>123</sup> Martin Hinds, "Miḥna," *EI2*, XII, 2–6.

<sup>124</sup> C. E. Bosworth (translator), *The History of al-Ṭabarī, XXXII: Reunification of the Abbāsīd Caliphate* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 199–220; Walter Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Miḥna* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1897), 56–61.

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who are defective in their belief in the divine unity and who have an imperfect share in the faith. They are vessels of ignorance, banners [or milestones, *a'lām*] of mendaciousness and the tongue of Iblīs, who speaks through his companions and strikes terror into the hearts of his adversaries, the people of God's own religion;<sup>125</sup>

But by their utterances concerning the Qur'ān, these ignorant people have enlarged the breach in their religion and the defect in their trustworthiness; they have made the way easy for the enemy of Islam, and have confessed perversion of the Qur'ānic text and heresy against their own hearts; they have made known and described God's work of creation and His action by that form of description which belongs to God alone and have compared Him with it, whereas it is only His creation that is the fitting subject of comparison.<sup>126</sup>

The original "test" of the *miḥna* was of a strictly theological nature, namely the testimony that the Qur'ān was a created text, an opinion shared by numerous early sectarian groups including the Mu'tazila, Khawārij, most of the Zaydiyya and Murji'a, and many of the Imāmī Shī'a (Rāfiḍa).<sup>127</sup> Al-Ma'mūn struggled to "prove" the createdness of the Qur'ān by means of numerous Qur'ānic verses in the first and third of his letters,<sup>128</sup> although his argument was handicapped by the absence of any Qur'ānic verse in which God explicitly created (*khalāqa*) the Qur'ān.<sup>129</sup> The first group of seven *ḥadīth* scholars subjected to the *miḥna* included both Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Ma'īn, and all of them are reported to have accepted the doctrine of the created Qur'ān in Raqqa without a struggle.<sup>130</sup> This outcome was not the case with

<sup>125</sup> *Reunification*, 203. This excerpt is taken from the first of al-Ma'mūn's *miḥna* letters.

<sup>126</sup> *Reunification*, 208. This passage is from the third letter of al-Ma'mūn which purportedly was read to the second group of scholars that included Ibn Ḥanbal, Qutayba b. Sa'īd, and 'Alī b. al-Ja'd.

<sup>127</sup> Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, II, 256. Al-Ash'arī reports another thirteen opinions in this chapter on pages 256–9. Melchert makes the interesting suggestion that the Inquisition should be "identified less with the Mu'tazila than with the nascent Hanafī school of law" in his article "The Adversaries of Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal," *Arabica* XLIV.2 (1997), 239.

<sup>128</sup> *Reunification*, 199–204 and 205–9; see especially pp. 201 and 207–8.

<sup>129</sup> The closest verb to *khalāqa* in relationship to the "creation" of the Qur'ān is *ja'ala* found in the verse "verily We have made it a Qur'ān in the Arabic language" (43:3). Al-Ma'mūn cites this verse in his first and third *miḥna* letters; *Reunification*, 201 and 207.

<sup>130</sup> The remaining five men are Abū Khaythama, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mustamli (d. 224/839), Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī (d. 246/860), and Ismā'il b. Abī Mas'ūd (death date unknown). These men are names in al-Ma'mūn's brief second letter; *Reunification*, 204–5; Patton, *Ahmed Ibn Hanbal and the Miḥna*, 64.

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 —, *Šarh al-Luma*<sup>c</sup>, éd. A. I-Mağīd Turki, 2 vol., (*Šarh al-Luma*<sup>c</sup>).  
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IBN KULLĀB ET LA *MIḤNA*\*

PAR

JOSEF VAN ESS

(traduit de l'allemand par Claude GILLIOT)

«Keine eilfertige Weisheit treibt sie zu unzeitiger Reife.»  
 (Friedrich Hölderlin aus Tübingen, *Hyperion*)

*Avant-propos de l'auteur*

LORSQUE j'ai écrit cette étude, j'avais tout juste trente ans, et je n'avais alors rien publié, hormis ma thèse et quelques recensions. Sur plus d'un point, aujourd'hui, je verrais les choses différemment. Le chapitre d'introduction, notamment, devrait être revu; entre temps, plusieurs bonnes études ont paru sur l'arrière-plan politique de la *miḥna*. En revanche, si l'on excepte mon ami, le défunt Père Michel Allard, personne ne s'est occupé depuis de Ibn Kullāb. Ce que j'ai dit à ce sujet peut donc toujours servir de

\* [Ndt: Josef van Ess, «Ibn Kullāb und die Miḥna», Hellmut Ritter zum 70. Geburtstag (Pour les soixante-dix ans de H. Ritter), in *Oriens*, 18-19 (1965-66), pp. 92-142. Nous avons traduit ce texte, à l'origine pour nos étudiants en doctorat et nous avons pensé qu'il pourrait être utile à un plus large public qui ne lit pas la langue de Goethe.

Nous remercions Monsieur le Professeur Josef van Ess et la revue *Oriens* d'avoir accepté que cet article soit traduit et paraisse ici. Monsieur le Professeur van Ess a bien voulu relire cette traduction, qu'il soit tout particulièrement remercié pour les remarques qu'il a bien voulu nous faire.

Que la phrase de Hölderlin que nous avons placée en exergue soit un hommage à notre éminent collègue qui a la chance de vivre et d'enseigner dans la ville des «trois amis pasteurs» auxquels la pensée occidentale moderne doit tant!: «Aucune sagesse hâtive ne les fait mûrir trop vite» (Il s'agit des Athéniens et de tous les «fils d'Athènes»!).

Les ajouts du traducteur dans les notes sont signalés comme suit: [...]. Dans l'original allemand, les références figurent dans le texte, elles ont été placées ici dans les notes. Certains passages du texte qui apportent des compléments d'information ont été également rejetés en notes. Les sous-titres et la numérotation des paragraphes sont de nous. Les signes abrégatifs des noms propres arabes sont ceux de GAS, I, p. XV, sauf Aḥmad, abrégé ici: A. L'abréviation du titre d'un ouvrage est indiquée entre parenthèses, lors de la première mention qui en est faite].

*Arabica*, Tome XXXVII, 1990 / 2 (Leiden) s. 173-233.

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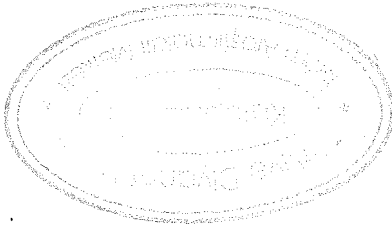
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## DİPNOTLAR

- \* Bu makale, Ronald Goldman'ın "Religious Thinking From Childhood To Adolescence" (Routledge And Kegan Paul London, Third Edition, 1966) adlı eserinin s.10-32 arasındaki çevirisidir.
- <sup>1</sup> Bu düşünce dizisiyle meşgul olmak isteyen okuyucu, James (1902, s.379-429) veya Din Psikolojisi hakkındaki herhangi bir standart çalışmaya baş vurabilir.
- <sup>2</sup> Hz.İsa tarafından anlatılan bir öyküde geçen hayır sever Samaralı; kendini hiç düşünmeksizin başı dertte veya sıkıntıda olan insanların imdadına koşan kimse (Çev).
- <sup>3</sup> Eskiden İngiltere'de bir üst öğrenime devam etmeyecekleri beklenen 11 yaş üzerindeki çocuklar için ortaöğretim okulu (Çev).
- <sup>4</sup> Yapaycılık
- <sup>5</sup> Eskiden İngiltere'de bir üst öğrenime devam etmeyecekleri beklenen 11 yaş üzerindeki çocuklar için ortaöğretim okulu (Çev).
- <sup>6</sup> İngiltere'de, üniversite öğretimine hazırlayan ve altı ya da yedi yıl öğretim süresi bulunan bir ortaöğretim kurumudur. Bu okula giriş için "11 - artı imtihanı ( 11-Plus Examination) olarak adlandırılan, İngilizce, aritmetik bilgisinin yoklandığı ve standartlaştırılmış zeka testinin uygulandığı bir sınav yapısıdır. (Bkz. J.F. Cramer - G.S. Browse, Çağdaş Eğitim, Çev: A.Ferhan Oğuzkan, s. 260-262, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1982) (Çev).

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## KİTAP TANITMA

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**Ebi Abdillah Hanbel b. İshak b. Hanbel'e atfedilen  
"Zikru Mihneti'l-İmam Ahmed b. Hanbel" Adlı Eserinin Tanıtımı**

"Zikru Mihneti'l-İmam Ahmed b.Hanbel" adlı eser, Mihne uygulamalarına maruz kalan Ahmed b. Hanbel(241/855)'in amcasının oğlu Hanbel b. İshak(273/886)'a isnad edilmektedir. Eserin bir nüshası Darü'l-Kütübü'z-Zahiriyye'de (Mecmua, nr. 48/4, İkinci kısım, vr. 90-108) kayıtlı olup<sup>1</sup>, Muhammed Nağş tarafından tahkik edilerek yayına hazırlanmış ve 1983 yılında Kahire'de basılmıştır.<sup>2</sup> Eser, naşir'in mukaddimesi ve içindekiler dahil yüz on dokuz sahifeden oluşmaktadır.

Abbasi halifesi Me'mun(218/833)'un hilafetinin son döneminde "Kur'an'ın mahluk olduğu (halku'l-Kur'an)" fikri devlet politikası olarak benimsenmiş ve bu fikir önce üst düzey yöneticiler arasında daha sonra da halk katmanları arasında devlet gücü kullanılarak benimsenilmeye çalışılmıştır. Halku'l-Kur'an fikrinin devlet politikası olarak benimsenilmeye çalışıldığı döneme "Mihne dönemi" denmektedir.

Mihne döneminde sorgulamaya gerekçe olan konu yukarıda da bahsettiğimiz gibi "Kur'an'ın mahluk olup-olmadığı (halku'l-Kur'an)" tartışmasıdır. Bu tartışmada Kur'an'ın mahluk olduğunu kabul eden kimseler olduğu gibi, bu görüşe karşı çıkan ve muhalefet gösteren, bu muhalefeti nedeniyle bir takım sıkıntılara maruz kalan kimseler de vardır. Bu ikinci grup kimselerin başında da şüphesiz Ahmed b.Hanbel gelmektedir.

Tanıtımını yapmaya niyetlendiğimiz eser, Ahmed b.Hanbel'in Mihne dönemi boyunca yaşadıklarını konu edinmektedir. Ahmed b.Hanbel'in Mihne hadiselerinde yaşadıkları olaylar o dönemin siyasal ve sosyal yapısının aydınlığa kavuşturulması açısından önemli olduğu gibi, daha sonraki düşünce tarihinin seyrinin nedenlerinin görülmesi açısından da

## NOTES

1. Eisenstadt and Schluchter 1998, 10.
2. For theoretical discussions of the religious public sphere and the blurred boundaries between private and public spheres—see Eickelman, Eisenstadt, and Hoexter in this volume.
3. Hodgson 1974, vol. 2, 119.
4. Calder *EP*<sup>2</sup>.
5. See Arjomand 1999 on the relationship between types of political regime and the use of endowments as instruments of public policy.

Editors: Miriam Hoexter,  
Shmuel N. Eisenstadt,  
Nehemia Levtzion.

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Societies.

Albany, NY, 2002, s. 17-29.

B. Univ. Ktp: 437636

## CHAPTER ONE

## THE MIHNA (INQUISITION) AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

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NIMROD HURVITZ

The term *public sphere* acquired its currency and importance in the framework of European historiography, which focused on the formation of a bourgeois society.<sup>1</sup> However, the concept can take on a more general meaning if we extend it beyond any specific temporal and geographic features such as the European bourgeoisie in the modern era. The theoreticians and historians who coined this term and used it in their writings refer to the public sphere as a social space in which discursive interactions between large segments of the public take place. In his exposition of the multiple meanings of the term *public*, Jürgen Habermas has emphasized that aspect of publicity in which the public functions as the “carrier of public opinion.”<sup>2</sup> In a study of the French revolution, Roger Chartier has referred to the public sphere as “a space for discussion and exchange removed from the sway of state power.”<sup>3</sup> The shaping of public opinion and autonomy from state influence are issues that need not be limited to the European experience. They are in fact also relevant to developments in Islamic societies. The concept of the public sphere can prove particularly useful in an exposition of the forces that shaped public opinion, laid the principles of religious discourse, and affected the efforts of scholars to maintain their intellectual independence.

In this chapter I will touch on these questions by focusing on a period of crisis that has been named by Muslim historians the *mihna* (inquisition). The *mihna* was initiated by the caliph al-Ma'mun in the year A.H. 218/ A.D. 833. Al-Ma'mun's sympathy towards the *mutakallimun* (scholastic theologians) moved him to attack their intellectual opponents, the *muhaddithun* (traditionists). Using the caliphal role of defender of the true faith of Islam, he interrogated individual *'ulama'* (scholars of religious sciences) with regard to their theological beliefs. The inquisitorial question touched on the createdness of the Qur'an. Each *'alim* (sing. of *'ulama'*) was asked if the Qur'an was created. Those who answered in line with al-Ma'mun and the *mutakallimun's*

Fârâbî'nin felsefe ile dini, siyâset vasıtasıyla uzlaştırma teşebüsü sadece sağlam inançların siyâsî önemi üzerinde ısrarla durmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda kelâm ya da dinin amelî felsefeden ya da özellikle siyâsî felsefeden ve nihayet genel olarak felsefeden daha aşağıda yer aldığına işaret eder. İnsan mutluluğunu tanımlamak ve onun varlık şartlarını belirlemek dinî ilimlerin değil, siyâsî felsefenin görevidir.<sup>45</sup> Fakat eğer mutluluk, tabii ya da ilâhî olsun, bütün varlıkların ve tüm şeylerin bilgisi, müsbet ya da felsefî bilgisinden ibaretse, ancak pek az kimse gerçekten mutlu olabilir. Geri kalan insanlar ibâdetleriyle ve ahlâkî bakımdan erdemli olmak suretiyle gerçek mutluluğun ancak çok kısa bir manzarasını elde ederler. Dindarlık felsefî düşünceden aşağıda yer alır.

Fârâbî, belirli ya da doğru halindeki siyâsî bir düzenin savunucusu değildir. Şüilerin, Fârâbî'nin öğretilerinde kendi iddialarını destekleyecek bazı kanıtlar bulmuş olmaları, hattâ Fârâbî'nin onların nazariye ya da düşüncelerinden bazı kısımları tasvip etmiş olabileceği pek mümkündür<sup>46</sup>. Tartışmalar Fârâbî'nin dikkatini Eflatun'un siyâsî felsefesine yöneltmiş olabilir; fakat onun bu felsefeyi kabul etmesi, onun gerçek felsefe olduğu inancına dayanmaktadır. Fârâbî'ye göre, yalnız felsefe, insanın, nazarı kemâlden ibaret olan son mutluluğa ve gerçek gayesine ulaşmasının bir garantisidir.

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45 Gazâlî, adı geçen eser, ss. 8-9; Bağdâdî, adı geçen eser, II, 132. Burada Bağdâdî bir Batmî'nin bir değerine söylediği şu sözleri nakletmektedir: "Bir filozof üzerinde etkili olursan, ona sınıksız sarıl, çünkü güvencimiz filozoflardır. Biz ve onlar, peygamberlerin şer'i'at kitapları ve âlemin kademi hususunda aynı fikirdeyiz."

-Mihne  
-lafz

Dergi / Kitap  
Kütüphanede Mevcuttur

## HALK-I KUR'AN MESELESİ

Raviler, Muhaddisler, Cerh ve Ta'dil Kitaplarına Tesiri\*

Abdu'l-Fettâh Ebû Gudde  
Çeviren: Mücteba UĞUR  
Hadis Asistanı

Tarihte "el-Mihne" de denilen "Halk-ı Kur'ân" ya da "Lafz" meselesi, cerh ve ta'dil kitaplarında, hadis ricâline, zayıf ravilere ait eserlerde, tarihî kaynaklarda çokça zikredilmiş, sebeplerine inilmiş bir konudur. Zaman geçtikçe ifade ettiği mânâ çığırından çıkmış, bilhassa tarihi ve mahiyeti asrımız ilim alemine meçhul kalmıştır. Bu itibarla bu mühim meselenin menşei, tarihî seyri hakkında kısa bilgiler verip ravilere, muhaddislerle cerh ve ta'dil kitaplarına tesirinden etraflı bir şekilde bahsetmek yerinde olacaktır.

Halk-ı Kur'ân Meselesinin başlangıcı:

Tarih ve mezhepler tarihi kaynaklarının ittifakla naklettiklerine göre Halk-ı Kur'ân meselesinden ilk bahseden Ca'd b. Dirhem, sonra Cehm b. Safvân'dır. Daha sonraları bu ikisine Bişr b. Gıyâsî'l-Merîsî tâbi olmuştur<sup>1</sup>. Ca'd b. Dirhem zındıklık ve ilhad isnadiyle Emevî Devleti'nin sonlarına doğru 118 (M.736) tarihinde katledilmiştir. Cehm b. Safvân da Hâris b. Sureyc ile birlikte Horasân emirlerine isyan ettiğinden 128 (M. 745) de öldürülmüştür. Bişr b. Gıyâsî'l-Merîsî ise 218 (M.833) yılında takriben 70 yaşlarında iken Bağdat'ta vefat etmiştir. Hâfız Zehebî Bişr'den bahsederken, "fakîh, mütekellim Bişru'l-Merîsî 218 yılında ölmüştür. Kur'ân-ı Kerim'in mahluk olduğu görüşünü yaymakta

\* Tercüme, müellif tarafından neşre hazırlanan, birkaç defa basılan (3. bs; Beyrut, 1972) Zafer Ahmed el-Usmâni et-Tehânevî'nin önemli eseri "Kavâ'id fi 'ulûmî'l-Hadis" in 361-380. sayfalarına eklenen notun ayrı basımından yapılmıştır. Beyrût? 1972, s. 5-26.

<sup>1</sup> Hâfız Lâlkâ'i'nin Şerhu's-Sünne ve Ebû Hâtim er-Râzi'nin er-Red Ale'l-Cehmiyye eserlerinde bu husus açıkça belirtilmiştir. M. Zâhid el-Keşerî, Te'nibu'l-Hatib; Mısır 1361/1942, s. 53.

## Die *mihna* im Kalifat des al-Mu'tašim

Holger Winkelmann-Liebert (Hamburg)

„Viele Beispiele (...) können es bestätigen, dass die Gesetze über die Religion, die die Streitigkeiten beilegen sollen, die Menschen mehr aufreizen als bessern, dass sich andere durch sie zu einer schrankenlosen Willkür berechtigt glauben, und dass zudem die Spaltungen nicht aus übermäßigem Eifer für die Wahrheit (die doch die Quelle der Freundlichkeit und Sanftmut ist), sondern aus übergroßer Herrschbegier entstehen.“<sup>1</sup> Der Satz, den Baruch de Spinoza in einer Zeit heftiger Auseinandersetzungen christlicher Konfessionen formulierte,<sup>2</sup> reicht mit seiner Wahrheit über die Grenzen des Abendlandes hinaus. Auch die islamische Geschichte kennt Kämpfe um die Orthodoxie, die rechte Lehre, bei denen Menschen um des Glaubens Willen gefoltert und getötet wurden. Am Anfang des 3. Jahrhunderts der islamischen Zeitrechnung versuchte der Kalif al-Ma'mūn, die über die Frage der rechtmäßigen Herrschaft über die islamische Gemeinde (*umma*) zerstrittenen Muslime unter einem neuen Konzept der Herrschaft zu einen. Verschiedene Entwürfe über die Führung der *umma* standen nach dem Tod des Propheten Muḥammad zur Diskussion. Die beiden Prinzipien, zwischen denen diese oszillierten, waren auf der einen Seite das der verwandtschaftlichen Nähe zum Propheten (*nasab*), auf der anderen Seite das der frühen Bekehrung zum Islam und damit der Verdienste um die neue Religion (*sābiqa*).<sup>3</sup> An dieser Frage entstanden die Schismen des Islam, deren Extrempositionen die Šī'a, die die Führung bei den direkten Nachfahren des Propheten sehen wollte, und die Hāriġīya, die den besten Muslim an der Spitze haben wollte, markieren. Al-Ma'mūn versuchte diesen Widerstreit der Prinzi-

<sup>1</sup>) Baruch de Spinoza, *Theologisch-politischer Traktat*, Hamburg 1994, 308.

<sup>2</sup>) Zu Leben und Zeit Baruch de Spinozas vergl. Wolfgang BARTUSCHAT, *Baruch de Spinoza*, München 1996.

<sup>3</sup>) Für eine eingehende Untersuchung dieser Diskussion vergl. Albrecht NOTH, Früher Islam, in: Ulrich HAARMANN (Hg.), *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, München 1987, 3–101, 73 ff.

pien zu lösen, indem er sie zu verbinden gedachte. Der Imām der Recheitung (*imām al-hudā*), wie er sein Ideal vom Kalifen nannte, sollte der Beste aus der Sippe des Propheten sein (*ar-riḏā min āl Muḥammad*). Zur Sippe des Propheten gehörten sowohl die Nachfahren 'Alis, wie auch die des 'Abbās. Damit war der verwandtschaftlichen Nähe Rechnung getragen. Und er sollte der Beste sein, d. h., derjenige, über dessen religiöse Integrität kein Zweifel besteht. Damit war auch diesem Prinzip Rechnung getragen. Dieser Imām sollte die letzte Instanz bei Streitfragen bezüglich des Glaubens sein. Kraft seiner spirituellen Autorität stand er über den Streitereien der *umma* und vermochte alle Menschen, die sich zum Islam bekannten, zu integrieren. Weil sich al-Ma'mūn in dieser Rolle sah, fühlte er sich befugt, „Gesetze über die Religion“ zu erlassen. Er ordnete kurz vor seinem Tod im Jahr 218/833 die Prüfung führender Richter (*qādī*, Pl. *quḏāt*), Rechtsgelehrter (*faqīh*, Pl. *fuqahā'*) und Religionsgelehrter (*'ālim*, Pl. *'ulamā'*) über ihre Haltung zu einem bestimmten religiösen Dogma an, nämlich dem von der Erschaffenheit des Koran (*ḥalq al-qur'ān*). Das *ḥalq al-qur'ān* war Bestandteil mu'tazilitischer Lehre und fügt sich in die von der Mu'tazila vertretenen Lehre der absoluten Transzendenz Gottes ein. Diese absolute Transzendenz ergibt sich aus der Einheit und Einzigkeit Gottes (*tauḥīd*), welche sich wiederum von Muḥammad als dem Verkünder der Offenbarung des *einen* Gottes ableitet. Diesen strengen Monotheismus hatte die theologische Denkrichtung, die als Mu'tazila bekannt ist, mit griechischer Philosophie angereichert und kam so auf die Notwendigkeit einer strengen ontologischen Unterscheidung von Schöpfer (*ḥāliq*) und Schöpfung (*mahlūq*). Alles, was irgendwie diesseitig ist, kann nicht Gott sein und auch nicht die Wesensmerkmale haben, die nur Ihm zukommen, z. B. ewig zu sein. Gott rückt so in die Nähe des aristotelischen unbewegten Bewegers, der seinen Ort jenseits der äußersten Himmels-sphäre hat.<sup>4</sup> Ein solcher Gott ist nur noch Prinzip und für den Gläubigen schwer zu fassen. Schwierigkeiten ergeben sich auch mit der Erklärung des Koran, in dem von der Hand Gottes oder seinem Thron die Rede ist. Die Prüfung der Gelehrten ging in die Geschichte unter dem Namen *mihna* (Prüfung) ein. Für knapp zwei Jahrzehnte behinderte sie die freie Entfaltung religiöser Ideen im Islam und führte zu Verhaftungen, Folterungen und sogar Tod. Der Versuch, die *umma* unter Zwang zu einen,

<sup>4</sup>) Wie man als frommer Muslim mit der aristotelischen Philosophie leben könnte, kann man nachlesen bei Ibn Rušd, *Aristoteles opera cum Averrois commentariis*, Venedig 1562–74. Zum Verhältnis von Philosophie und Religion äußert sich Ibn Rušd mit gewisser intellektueller Arroganz in: *K. faṣl al-maqāl*, hg. von G. F. HOURANI, Leiden 1959.

المستقبل . وإذا كان قيام الإسلام قد شكّل حسب تعبير هيجل «ثورة الشرق» فإن الفتنة الكبرى كانت بمثابة الثورة داخل الثورة، غدت الفعل الإسلامي وكانت حدثاً متميزاً في تاريخ الإسلام .

el-ictihad, sene: IV / sayi: 13 (1412/1991)

Beirut, s. 221-255. 1950

27 NISAN 1998

## المحنة: بحث في جدلية الدين السياسي في الإسلام (\*)

مراجعة عبدالله يحيى السريحي

من القضايا المهمة في تاريخ الفكر الإسلامي - التي احتلت مكاناً فسيحاً في المصادر العربية والإسلامية وفي الحياة الثقافية - «محنة خلق القرآن» التي جرت أحداثها ووقائعها بين (٢١٨ هـ - ٢٣٤ هـ) في عهود كل من المأمون والمعتصم والواثق، والتي اضطرهد بسببها عدد كبير من المحدثين والقضاة والفقهاء أشهرهم أحمد بن حنبل، وقد شكلت هذه القضية - بحق - محنة بكل المقاييس، إذ حصل فيها أكبر وأول خرق «جماعي» في تاريخ الإسلام لحرية الرأي والفكر والمعتقد ممثلاً بقيام السلطة السياسية بإجبار الناس على تغيير آرائهم بالقوة. ومما جعل لهذه القضية الصدى الملحمي الكبير هو أن الطرف الممتحن - الذي نسبت إليه هذه البدعة - «المعتزلة» و«المأمون» يشكل نموذجاً فذاً في تاريخ الإسلام، فالمعتزلة عُرفوا بأنهم مجسّدو قيم الحرية، والعقلانية والتنوير، وعُرف المأمون من بين جميع «خلفاء» بني العباس بأنه الذي شرع الأبواب للتفكير العلمي.

والباحث في فكر وتراث المعتزلة يصاب بالحيرة والذهول عندما يقارن فكرهم بما كتبه المؤرخون والباحثون، قدماء ومعاصرين، عن دورهم في محنة خلق القرآن وعلاقتهم بالدولة العباسية، وتكاد هذه الكتابات تجمع على ثلاثة

(\*) فهمي جدعان: المحنة: دراسة في جدلية الدين والسياسي في الإسلام. دار الشروق بعمان . ١٩٨٩.

Ṭāhir's views bear testimony to the recognition that the ruler's legitimacy and an "orthodox" image had both come to be seen as contingent on the patronage of the 'ulamā' and on conforming to (but also participating in) the religious tradition they represented. It is not without irony that Ṭāhir should emphatically have endorsed the scholars' importance for the ruler during the reign of a caliph who was to make the most massive effort in 'Abbāsīd history to alter the terms on which the relationship of the 'ulamā' and the state had come to be based.<sup>127</sup>

### III.4. *The Miḥna and its Aftermath*

#### III.4.1.

The *Miḥna* instituted by al-Ma'mūn in 218/833 to test the belief of *qāḍīs*, *fuqahā'* and *muḥaddithūn* on the "createdness" of the Qur'ān was the most dramatic form in which this caliph tried to challenge the authority of the 'ulamā', but it was not an isolated event.<sup>128</sup> It was preceded by other, implicit, challenges to the nascent Sunnī religious elite, such as the caliph's proclamations that the first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwiya, was not to be favourably mentioned,<sup>129</sup> that 'Alī was to be ranked above all other Companions of the Prophet,<sup>130</sup> and, of course, that the Qur'ān was the "created" word of God.<sup>131</sup> It was this last mentioned doctrine that the caliph made, six years after he had first

<sup>127</sup> That Ṭāhir was able to get away with his views may be because at the time when the epistle is said to have been written (206/821), al-Ma'mūn had not yet embarked on his confrontation with the 'ulamā'. For what it is worth, we even have a report about al-Ma'mūn's having greatly appreciated the epistle (Bosworth, "Mirror for Princes", pp. 29f.).

<sup>128</sup> Modern studies on the *Miḥna* include: W.M. Patton, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna* (Leiden, 1897); J. van Ess, "Ibn Kullāb et la *Miḥna*", *Arabica*, XXXVII (1990), pp. 173–233; idem, *Th&G*, III, pp. 446–80; J.A. Nawas, "A Reexamination of three current explanations for al-Ma'mūn's introduction of the *Miḥna*", *IJMES*, XXVI (1994), p. 615–29; *El*(2), s.v. "*Miḥna*" (M. Hinds), and the sources cited there. Also see Michael Cooper, "The Heirs of the Prophets in Classical Arabic Biography" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1994), pp. 329–506, for an analysis of the treatment of the *Miḥna* and of Ibn Ḥanbal's persona in the medieval biographical dictionaries.

<sup>129</sup> al-Ṭabarī, III, p. 1098.

<sup>130</sup> al-Ṭabarī, III, p. 1099. Many proto-Sunnī 'ulamā', for their part, were keen to stress that 'Alī had no special merit vis-à-vis the other companions of the Prophet: cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-sunna*, 187ff., 204f., where traditions making 'Alī himself affirm this viewpoint are quoted at length.

<sup>131</sup> al-Ṭabarī, III, p. 1099.

proclaimed it in 212/827, the basis of the *Miḥna*. Rather than act in religious matters in conjunction with the proto-Sunnī 'ulamā', or conform to their view of what constituted "orthodox" conduct, al-Ma'mūn tried, through the *Miḥna*, to bring their own "orthodoxy" into question. The implication of imposing a criterion whereby to measure their "orthodoxy" not only was that the authority of the caliph to institute such a procedure was being asserted, but also that the caliph would come across as more "orthodox" than anyone else, and more worthy of being the guardian and defender of that "orthodoxy".<sup>132</sup> In his communications to the governor of Baghdad, the caliph made it plain that a refusal to accept the doctrine being officially sponsored would strip the 'ulamā' in question of recognition as 'ulamā' by the state<sup>133</sup>—the implication being that it was from the state that such a recognition was to be had.<sup>134</sup> Conversely, only those who subscribed to it could serve as *qāḍīs*, and they would also have to function as agents of the state in imposing and upholding this doctrine.<sup>135</sup> But the Inquisition was not confined only to *qāḍīs*. The probity (*'adāla*) of all those who failed to testify to the Qur'ān's createdness was to be nullified and their legal testimony (*shahāda*) invalidated, and they were to be disallowed from narrating *ḥadīth* or giving *fatwās*.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to demanding that the scholars conform to a criterion of right belief which *the caliph* had set for them, al-Ma'mūn also launched into savage, and highly personal attacks on the reputation of many of them.<sup>137</sup> In his long catalogue of invectives, the criticism which is perhaps most suggestive of the caliph's concerns seems to

<sup>132</sup> In his communications to the governor of Baghdad, al-Ma'mūn presents himself as *upholding* an "orthodoxy" rather than *instituting* it. He implicitly claims, in fact, that the doctrine he is enforcing is *not* an innovation (cf., for instance, al-Ṭabarī, III, p. 1130)—which is what his critics said it was. Contrast Ibn Ḥanbal's refrain during his interrogation in al-Mu'taṣim's court: "Give me something from the Qur'ān or sunna of the Prophet [as proof of the Qur'ān's createdness]". See Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad, *Sirat al-imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mun'im Aḥmad (Alexandria, 1981), pp. 56, 59, 63.

<sup>133</sup> al-Ṭabarī, III, p. 1120.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 1116.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, III, p. 1116.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1115, 1120; al-Kindī, *Qudāt*, pp. 445–47.

<sup>137</sup> al-Ṭabarī, III, 1127ff.; also cf. Ibn Abī Ṭāhir, *Kitāb Baghdad*, ed. Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1949), pp. 58f. Van Ess observes ("Ibn Kullāb", p. 179) that al-Ma'mūn seems to have kept himself very well-informed of the affairs of the 'ulamā'. That may be so, though it should be noted that charges of greed and of financial embezzlement, which the caliph liberally hurled at the scholars on this occasion, need not have been true in order to be effective. The charge of financial embezzlement is, moreover, a familiar topos in Islamic historiography.

Muhammad Qasim Zaman

Religion and politics under the early 'Abbāsīd:

The emergence of the proto-Sunnī elite.

Leiden-1997, s. 106-118. IRCICA: 36076

## Mihna as Self-Defense\*

Nimrod Hurvitz

Throughout the second and third centuries A.H., a vehement controversy over the standing of theology threatened the cohesion of the Islamic community. One of the issues that divided the Muslims was the question of the createdness of the Qur'ān. This debate led to the intervention of the caliphal court, which initiated widescale interrogations of scholars between 218 and 233 A.H., a policy that is known as the *mihna* (Inquisition). In the course of this period, leaders of the religious community were questioned about their views regarding the Qur'ān, and those who did not subscribe to the court's position that the Qur'ān was created were put on trial, tortured and pressured to renounce their stance. After fifteen years of such persecutions and in the face of popular resistance, the caliph al-Mutawakkil put an end to this policy, effectively admitting its failure.

Modern scholars view the *mihna* as one of the defining moments in Islamic history. As early as the nineteenth century this event drew their attention, and in 1897, W. Patton published a monograph, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Mihna*, which is still an authoritative and widely quoted account of the *mihna*.<sup>(1)</sup> Although Patton focused on Ibn Hanbal's interrogation, he outlined the events that occurred before and after this episode. He challenged the interpretation that has been put forth by some Muslim historians according to which the *mihna* was instigated due to the machinations of courtiers that surrounded the caliph, and placed the onus of responsibility on the caliph himself.<sup>(2)</sup> He also suggested that the *mihna* is closely related to al-Ma'mūn's Shī'i leanings.<sup>(3)</sup> However, the importance of Patton's work does not lie in the specific motives that he ascribed to al-Ma'mūn, but in articu-

\* I would like to thank S. Kaplan, N. Tsafirir and D. Zeevi for their comments and corrections on previous drafts. All opinions and mistakes are my own.

(1) W. Patton, *Ahmed ibn Hanbal and the Mihna* (Leiden, 1897); For interesting remarks on Patton's study and its contribution to the studies of Hanbalism see G. Makdisi, "Hanbalite Islam," in M.L. Swartz ed. *Studies in Islam* (Oxford, 1981), 220-224. Patton's study is mentioned as the basic study on the *mihna* in J. van Ess, "Ibn Kullāb et la Mihna," *Arabica*, 37 (1990), 174. A short and incomplete list of works that cite Patton is I. Lapidus, "The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 6 (1975), 379; P. Crone and M. Hinds, *God's Caliph, Religious authority in the first centuries of Islam* (Cambridge, 1986), 94, 96; M.Q. Zaman, *Religion and Politics Under the Early Abbāsids* (Leiden, 1997), 10.

(2) Patton, 51, 52.

(3) Ibid. 57.



10 TEMMUZ 2002

# İdeolojik Hadisçiliğin Tarihî Arka Planı

Mihne Olayı ve Haşeviye Olgusu

Mehmet Emin Özafşar

*Dizgi ve Kapak: Ankara Okulu Yayınları  
Baskı, Kapak Baskısı, Cilt: Özkan Matbaacılık  
Birinci Basım: Ağustos 1999*

ISBN: 975 - 8190 - 16 - 4

Ankara Okulu Yayınları  
İlkiz Sk. 16/30 Sıhhiye/ANKARA  
Tel: 0312 229 30 50

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	69445
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Ankara/1999



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Kayıt No. :	5014
Tasnif No. :	322.375

إمعة العجبة  
محمود محمود

دار الصلال

*Bibliography:* Some Āzārī variants of the term can be found in R. A. Rüstāmov and M. Sh. Shiraliyev, *Azərbaycan dilinin dialektoloji lüğəti*, Baku 1964; see also W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, repr. The Hague 1960, and B. Kh. Karmuışeva, *Lokayskie "mapramači"*, in *Soobshchēniya Respublikanskogo Istoriko-Kraevedčeskogo Muzeya*, vuip. ii, Stalinabad 1955, 122 n. 6. Other variants are recorded from the author's fieldwork. *Shahsevān* packs are discussed in J. Housego, *Some flat weaves of Azerbaijan*, in *Hali*, iv/2 (1981), 118-23; eadem, *Tribal rugs*, London 1978; S. Azadī and P.A. Andrews, *Mafrash*, Berlin and Munich 1985 (also showing a *Qashkārī* pack, pl. facing p. 256, and two attributed to the Lur, facing pp. 242-4), and P. Tanavoli, *Shahsavān*, New York 1985 (also in German, Fribourg 1985). For the technique, see also R.L. and N. Tapper and P.A. Andrews, *Farmash weaving among the Shahsevān*, in *Oriental carpet and textile studies*, i, London 1985, 124-30. For *Shahsevān* history, see R.L. Tapper, *The Shahsavān of Azerbaijan*, London Ph.D. thesis, 1971, unpubl., Appendix iii. For a Lurī example and discussion, see A. de Franchis and J.T. Wertime, *Lori and Bakhtiyārī flatweaves*, exhibition catalogue, Tehran 1976, 16 and pl. 26 A. For Özbek packs, see Karmuışeva, *op. cit.*, 121-45, and for the *Qazaq* types, M.S. Mukanov, *Kazakhskaya yurtas*, Alma Ata 1981, pls. 36-86. (P.A. ANDREWS)

**MIHMINDĀR** (P.), the title of the 18th dignity, out of the 25 at the Mamlūk sultan's court; succeeding to the duties of the Fātimid *nā'ib ṣāhib al-bāb* (see M. Canard, *Le ceremonial fātimitē et le ceremonial byzantin*, in *Byzantion*, xxi [1951], 371, 377, 412), he was in charge of receiving ambassadors and delegations of Bedouins (*urbān*), of providing them with accommodation suitable to their rank, of providing for their needs during their stay and of presenting them, at the appropriate moment, in the audience chamber of the ruler. Whilst the *nā'ib* was an official of the pen (*min arbāb al-aqlām*), the office of *mihmindārīyya* was reserved for an official of the sword (*min arbāb al-suyūf*) in the public service (see esp. al-*Qalkashandī*, *Ṣubh*, i, 484, iv, 187, 218 and index).

It is under his title of AL-MIHMINDĀR that al-Amīr al-Ḥamdānī, Badr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf b. Sayf al-Dawla b. Zammākh works. *Thumāma al-Tha'labī/al-Taghlibī*, author of a work on genealogy and a treatise on rhetoric, who claimed to belong to the Banū Ḥamdān and be the descendant of Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.], is best known. He was born in 602/1205 and probably died towards the end of the 7th/13th century, after having held the post of *mihmindār* under the last Ayyūbid and then in the reign of the Mamlūk al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn [q.v.]. Since he was constantly in contact with the Bedouins, from whom he himself sprang, he put into a *Kitāb al-Ansāb* all the items of knowledge about their genealogies and histories, which earned him the sobriquet of *al-Nassāba* ("the genealogist"). This work has not survived, but its subject-matter is in part preserved by later authors, amongst whom one should mention al-*Qalkashandī*, in the *Nihāyat al-arab*, the *Qalā'id al-djumān* and even the *Ṣubh*, when he deals with the Bedouins and the Arab tribes. Al-Maḥrīzī also utilised al-Mihmindār's work, but without acknowledging it.

Al-Mihmindār was furthermore a poet and lit-térateur. The only work of his to survive is his *Izālat al-iltibās fi 'l-fark bayn al-ishṭikāk wa 'l-djīnās* (ms. in Cairo, see *Fihrist-al kutub al-'arabiyya al-mahfūza bi 'l-kutubkhāna al-miṣriyya*, 1306/1888-9, iv, 122, 1926, ii, 175).

*Bibliography:* 'Umarī, *Masālik*, ms. Istanbul, Ahmet III 2797, iii; Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī, *Fawāi*, ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1973-4, iv, 349-51; Ṣafadī, *Wafī*, x, Wiesbaden 1980, 334; *Qalkashandī*, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1959; idem, *Qalā'id al-djumān*, Cairo 1963; *Daw' al-Ṣubh*, Cairo 1966; Maḥrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/2, 637-8 where the verses are transposed, see the correct version in *al-Tuḥfa al-mulūkiyya* of Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ms. Vienna, Flügel 905, fol. 22a; idem, *al-Bayān wa 'l-i'rāb*, ed. 'Abdīn, Cairo 1961, 53, no. 87; Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Askalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Cairo n.d., v, 231, n. 3, 232; Suyūfī, *Husn al-muḥādara*, Cairo 1967, i, 569, biogr. no. 61 (correct Rabbāh into Zammākh); Hādīdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul, i, 158; Ismā'il Paṣha al-Baghḍādī, *Hadiyyat al-'arifin*, Istanbul 1951-5, ii, 555, where the date of his death is placed around 670 (?); Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik al-dhahab*, Cairo n.d.; Brockelmann, I, 283, S I, 499; Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Aegypten*, Hamburg 1928, 82; Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, *Qabā'il al-'Arab fi Miṣr*, Cairo 1934, 82; A. 'Abdīn, in the introd. to the ed. of *al-Bayān wa 'l-i'rāb* of Maḥrīzī, 5; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifin*, Damascus 1961, xiii, s.v. Yūsuf al-Ḥamdānī; M. Ḥiyārī, *al-Imāra al-ṭā'iyya fi bilād al-Shām*, 'Ammān 1977, 16; A.H. Saleh, *Quelques remarques sur les Bédouins d'Égypte au Moyen-Age*, in *SI*, xlvi (1978), 63. (A. SALEH) 117

**MIHNA** (A.), a term meaning in general usage a "testing" or "trial", whether by the accidents of fortune or the actions of men (Patton, 1). This general sense is reflected in the *Kitāb al-Miḥan* by Abu 'l-'Arab [q.v.] where the author sets out to give an account of "those who have been afflicted (*ubtulīya*) by being killed, imprisoned, flogged, or threatened..." (47). More particularly, the term (together with its counterpart *imtiḥān*) signifies the procedure adopted by the caliph al-Ma'mūn [q.v.], and officially applied under his two immediate successors, for the purpose of imposing the view that the *Qur'ān* had been created.

1. *The course of historical events.* The circumstances of this initiative, which was set in motion by al-Ma'mūn in a letter written in Rabī' I 218/April 833, four months before his death, are most fully described by al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1112 ff.) and have been examined in detail by Patton (56 ff.). In the first instance, al-Ma'mūn, who was at al-Raḥka (or Damascus, according to al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 571), desired his deputy in Baghḍād, Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm, to test the *kaḍīs* in his jurisdiction concerning God's creation of the *Qur'ān*. The language of his letter to this effect is powerful and direct: God has the right to have His religion carried out properly, and the great mass of the common people, who know no better, being without the light of knowledge, are mistaken when they espouse the view that the *Qur'ān* is eternal (*kaḍīm awwal*); for God has said in the *Qur'ān* "We have made it (*dja'lnāhu*) an Arabic *Qur'ān*" (XKIII, 3), and everything He has made (*dja'ala*) He has created (*khalaka*). In addition, they have made a fallacious link between themselves and the *sunna*, making themselves out to be "the people of truth, religion and unity" and characterising those who do not agree with them as "people of falsehood, unbelief and schism", but in reality they are, *inter alia*, "the worst of the *umma*" and "the tongue of the Devil" and are in no way to be trusted. The Commander of the Faithful will not rely on anyone who does not conform in this regard, nor are *kaḍīs* to accept the testimony of such people.

This letter to Ishāk was followed by another instructing him to send to al-Ma'mūn seven named

however, was a prophet, and God communicated with him by means of a messenger. A similar shift can be observed with regard to the paradigm of God as the *flutist* who blows His word into man. This was applied to the Evangelists in Christianity; the simile is frequently quoted after Athenagoras who seems to have used it for the first time. It is true that, in contrast to the dictation paradigm, this is found in Islam, too. But we come across it in a different context, in connection with a work of poetry and not with revelation: in the poem of Jalāluddīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. And a last example: In Protestant orthodoxy of the 17th century even the diacritical signs of the Hebrew text (again the Old Testament!) were considered to have been spoken by God Himself. This is unheard of in Islam. It is an excess which seems characteristic for German theology professors of that time, philologists who did not speak the language themselves (and who normally did not master it too well). A Muslim, who dealt with Arabic every day, could not ignore the fact that a text was normally not vocalized; this was, as all of you know, also true for the oldest Quranic manuscripts. Quranic philology always allowed for a plurality of approbated readings; even after the reform of Ibn Mujāhid in the beginning of the fourth century H. only the consonants of the text were standardized whereas the consonantal skeleton itself could still be read in seven different ways which, in principle, were considered to be of equal value. With regard to these *qirāʾāt* God had left the decision to man; nobody could therefore know which grammatical forms He Himself had really used. The Arabic term by which the consonantal skeleton was denoted, namely *rasm*, could therefore also be applied to the phenomenologically perceptible realization of the Divine word, the "trace" which was left on earth by the non-material speech of God.

## I

The theologian who equated both usages of *rasm* was Ibn Kullāb, a man about whom I have to speak at greater length now. He was one of the predecessors of al-Ashʿarī, and he influenced Ashʿarī's doctrine in a decisive way. I have chosen him not only because of his specific awareness of the problem I want to talk about, but also because, for later understanding, he belonged to the "orthodox" wing of Islamic theology. I could have brought examples from the

Edited by Stefan WILD  
 THE QUR'AN AS TEXT  
 Leiden - 1996, s. 180 - 186.  
 ON: 42279.

Muʿtazila, but since they were considered to be heretics by the majority of Sunni Muslims afterward I would have to reckon with the objection that they were ultimately not representative for Islam. I could even have come up with a parallel to the modern Christian belief that Scripture is only human speech about God. Bishr al-Marīsī, a Ḥanafī theologian who lived around the year 200 H., was convinced that the names given to God, i.e. the attributes which are found in the eulogies of the Quran, are *mustaʿār*, "borrowed", insofar as they are transferred to God from man. They are therefore only metaphors, *istiʿāra* as one used to say in rhetorics, and obviously not coined by God himself. If we apply them to God we are simply assigning a name to somebody whom we have not known before; they do not carry any information about God's essence. This doctrine might look like a nice start for a dialogue over the centuries, a "dialogue" of the kind cherished in our days. But it would be a dialogue to the disfavor of most Muslims, for Bishr al-Marīsī was the man behind the *miḥna*, anathema not only to the Ḥanbalites but also to the later orthodox community at large. It is true that he did not belong to the Muʿtazilites, but he came close to them in many respects; he was a Jahmī, i.e. one of those thinkers in Iran and Iraq who, because of their rigid determinism, were treated by their opponents as followers of Jahm b. Ṣafwān. He is an interesting man, but, as in the case of the Muʿtazilites, I do not want to put the Islamic view of history upside down. This would be something for the Muslims themselves to do. If I do say a few words about the Muʿtazilites here, then only as a background for a better understanding of Ibn Kullāb.

The Muʿtazilites believed that God created His speech in an earthly substrate. The example usually given is God's speaking to Moses from the burning bush; Moses did not hear God speaking Himself but only a voice which was created by God in the bush or the "tree" (*shajara*) as is said in sura 28 v. 30—where, by the way, the formulation seems to support the Muʿtazilī interpretation: "a voice cried from the right bank of the watercourse . . . coming from the tree" (*nūdiya min ash-shajara*, passive form, not *nādaynāhu*). In the same cautious and impersonal way, so they thought, we have to talk about the Quran itself; it is speech of God only insofar as it is created in a written form in the copies we use or insofar as it is read and pronounced in a created voice during the recitation we hear. This even applies to Gabriel; he conveys the word of God, but the divine word is created in him during the act of revelation. What we have

Halku'l-Kurān

21 EKIM 1996

MUHARREM AKOĞLU

# Mihne Sürecinde Mu'tezile

© İz Yayıncılık

İZ YAYINCILIK: 474

İnceleme araştırma dizisi: 138

ISBN 975-355-616-0

İstanbul, 2006

Çatalçeşme Sokağı, Defne Han, No: 27/2 Cağaloğlu 34410 İstanbul

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Dem. No:	144148
Tas. No:	297.47 AKO.M

Basıldığı yer: Şenyıldız Matbaası. Gümüşsuyu Caddesi No:3 Topkapı-İstanbul



*al-ra'y*. It is not clear if this meant that growing numbers of scholars were deserting their ranks or that they did not have the intellectual tools to compete with the *ahl al-ra'y*'s jurisprudential views. Traditionists, Ibn Ḥanbal included, considered al-Shāfi'i's articulation of a jurisprudential theory to be the turning point in this struggle.<sup>36</sup> In his *Risāla*, al-Shāfi'i elaborated the principles of a jurisprudential approach that would later be embraced by most Traditionists. This jurisprudential framework enabled the Traditionists to place enormous weight on Traditions, primarily Prophetic ones, as legal precedents. As a result of al-Shāfi'i's *Risāla*, the growing importance of traditions was finalized and their status as sources of Islamic law was firmly established.

PART III

*Mihna*

Nimrod Hurvitz, The Formation of Hanbalism;

Piety into Power, London 2002, ISAm 136656

19 9 AUG 2005

113-159

ya da ruhânî varlıklar inancı ile Hermetik ve Antik Yunan düşüncesinin de etkisiyle, felsefi bir görünüme bürünmüş ve orijinalliği de bulunan bir fikir olup, özellikle İsrakî İslam düşüncesinde kendisine yer bulmuştur.

Söz konusu fikrin İslam düşüncesine girişi çok eski olmasına rağmen felsefeye dahil olmasının ise Sühreverdî ile başladığını söyleyebiliriz. Daha sonra da özellikle İsfahan Okulu denilen görüşe mensup filozofların bu fikri geliştirmeye çalıştıklarını görmekteyiz. Ancak bu fikir, zaman zaman tenkitlere tabi tutulmuş ve hatta çoktanrıcılıkla bile itham edilmiştir. Gerçekte ise bu fikirdeki “efendi” (rabb) anlayışı bir tanrıdan ziyade, Tanrı'nın görevlendirmiş olduğu bir varlık olarak görülmektedir. Bu varlık, felsefede Platon'un İdeleri ile, dinde ise melekler ile özdeşleştirilmektedir.

MADDE YATIMLANDIRILAN  
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## Mihne Dönemi Tartışmalarının Hadis Rivâyetine Yansıması (Buhârî Özelinde Bir Değerlendirme)

Nuri TUĞLU\*

### ABSTRACT

**Effecets The Episodes of Mihne Period on Hadith Narration (An Examination on The Bukhari Keys):** Aim of this paper is partially to examine effecets the episodes of mihne period on hadith narration. Our purpose is not to examine mihne episodes completely but partially. The paper is restricted with İmam el-Bukhari. Episodes of Mihne stem from the discussions like act of people, creation of Quran etc. As a result of those discussions, muhaddiths is tortured by governors and some islamic theologians especilly Mutazila. On the other hand some muhaddiths also tortured by the others. One of those muhaddiths is Bukhari. Zuhli who is teacher and collegue of Bukhari has caused Bukhari to be exiled from Nisabur. Discussions of Mihne period and other teological disputes caused that Muhaddiths appeared a negative stand against some theologian. This negative stand reflected in hadith narration. The narration of persons has been considered, according to their possitions in those disputes.

**KEYWORDS:** İmam el-Bukhari, Mihna, Narration of hadith, halku'l-Qoran, theological disputes.

### Giriş

Arapça bir kelime olan *mihne*; “bir şey üzerine inceden inceye düşünmek, denemek, sorgulamak, imtihan etmek, temizlemek, kırbaçla vurmak, niyetini ortaya koymak gibi anlamlara gelmektedir”.<sup>1</sup> Kavram olarak; “sultanın bir insanı sorgulamak maksadıyla tutuklaması ve onu yapmadığı, söylemediği şeyleri kabul edinceye kadar baskı altında tutması”<sup>2</sup> demektir. Hadis tarihinde, “Halku'l-Kur'ân/Kur'ân'ın yaratılmışlığı” meselesi hakkında görüşlerinin açığa çıkarılması ve Halku'l-Kur'ân fikrini kabul etmeleri için hadisçilere yapılan

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1 İbn Manzûr, Ebû'l-Fadl Muhammed b. Mukrim el-Mısri, *Lisânü'l-Arab*, Beyrut 1414/1994, XIII, 401.

2 İbn Manzûr, a.y. Mihne kavramı hakkında geniş bilgi için bkz. Koçyiğit, Talat, *Hadisçilerle Kelamcılar Arasındaki Münakaşalar*, Ankara 1988, s. 192 vd.; Özafşar, Mehmet Emin, *İdeolojik Hadisçiliğin Tarihi Arka Planı*, Ankara 1999, s. 14-19. Özafşar, söz konusu eserinde, mihne maruz kalan bazı alimler hakkında önemli bilgiler vermektedir.

# CRISIS AND MEMORY IN ISLAMIC SOCIETIES

Proceedings of the third Summer Academy  
of the Working Group Modernity and Islam  
held at the  
Orient Institute of the German Oriental Society in Beirut

edited by

Angelika Neuwirth  
and  
Andreas Pflitsch

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MIḤNAH, MU'TAZILAH, MEMORY

*Modern lessons from the Islamic 'inquisition'*

THOMAS HILDEBRANDT

Alongside the *fitnah al-kubrā* (the events surrounding the first civil war in the history of Islam, which led to the first schism in the Muslim community), the *miḥnah*<sup>1</sup> constitutes one of the most bitter experiences of crisis in the Muslim historical consciousness. In reference to the historical event, *miḥnah* is frequently rendered as 'inquisition'.<sup>2</sup> Literally, it means 'testing' or 'trial', and can be extended to include meanings of 'ordeal', 'tribulation', 'disaster', and even 'catastrophe'. When an Arab intellectual today comes into conflict with either the state he is living in or an Islamic group opposed to what he is doing, when he is legally or physically hindered in his work, one can often hear his colleagues speak of 'his *miḥnah*'. Given the current situation in the Arab world, there are many modern *miḥnahs* to be lamented. When we refer to 'the *miḥnah*' however, this denotes only one episode.

## 1. Events and explanations

With the definite article, the term refers to the time between 218/833 and at least 232/847, when the 'Abbāsid caliphs al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq questioned (*imtahana*) the men of religion concerning the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān (*khalq al-qur'ān*). According to this famous doctrine, the Holy Book of Islam is to be regarded as having been created (*makhlūq*) by God rather than being pre-existent or eternal. The idea was not new at this time. It had been held a full century before by al-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Martin Hinds, art. "Miḥna", in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. vii, Leiden: Brill, 1993, 2-6; and Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, vol. iii, Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, 1992, 446-508.

<sup>2</sup> The 'classic' study is that of Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna: A Biography of the Imām including an Account of the Moḥammedan Inquisition called the Miḥna, 218-234 A.H.*, Leiden: Brill, 1897.